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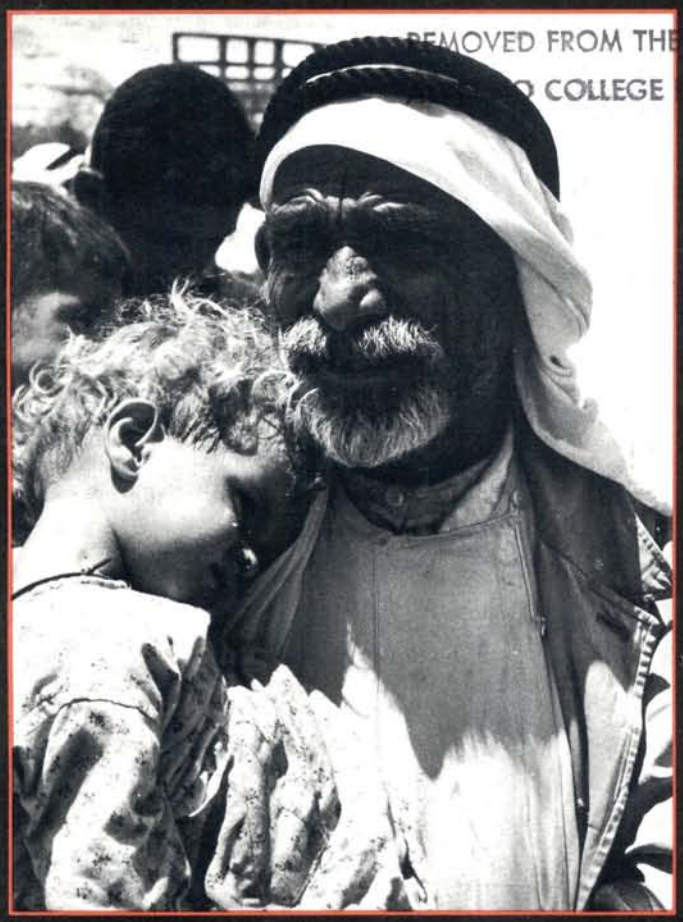

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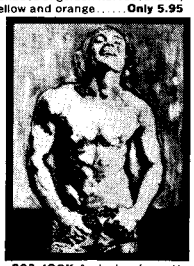

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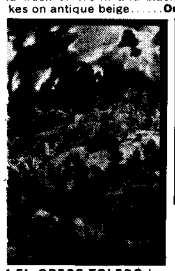

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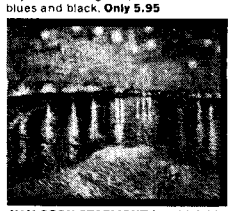

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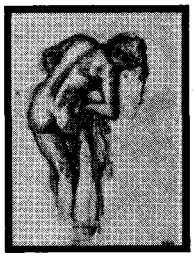

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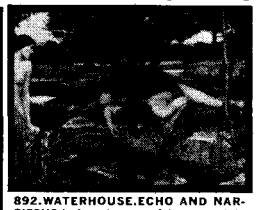

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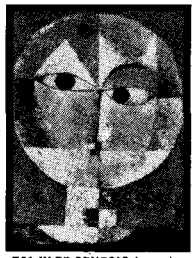

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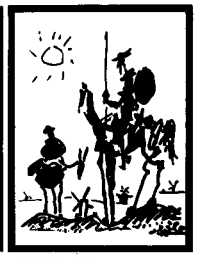

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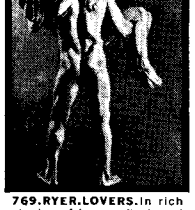

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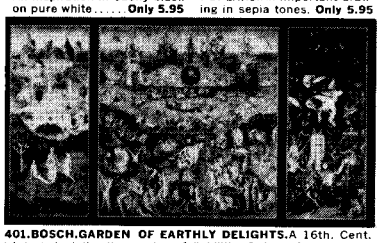

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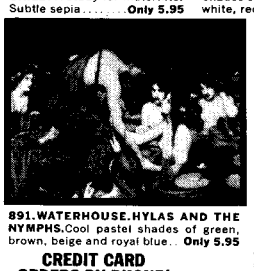

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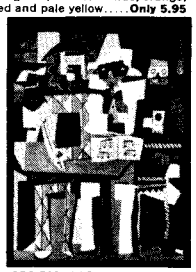

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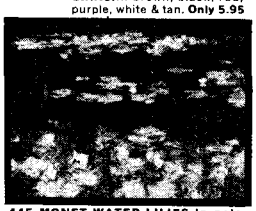

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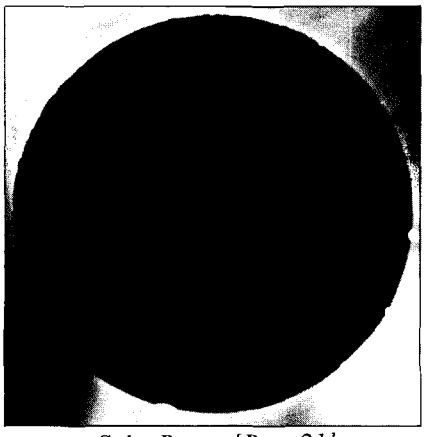

Solar Power [Page 21]

Hearts and Minds [Page 39]

Apocalypse [Page 45]

U.F.W. [Page 50]

Herein:

6 A FEW WORDS

8 LOWNDES COUNTY, ALABAMA: THE GREAT FEAR IS GONE
by Andrew Kopkind

13 REPORTER IN SAIGON: BEING BRIEFED
by Danny Schechter

17 TAX TIME: SOAKING THE POOR
by Terence McCarthy

21 SOLAR POWER NOW
by Tom Zeman

26 BREAKING THE MIDEAST DEADLOCK
I. THE PLAN
by Avishai Margalit
II. THE PROSPECTS
by Noam Chomsky

34 CALIFORNIA POLITICS: THE RIDDLE OF GOV. JERRY BROWN
by Francis Carney

39 "HEARTS AND MINDS": THE ADAMANT MEMORY OF VIETNAM
by Andrew Kopkind

45 THE SELLING OF THE APOCALYPSE, 1975
by Peter Collier

50 THE UFW: A MOMENT OF REBIRTH
A photo essay by Daniel Hunter and Diane Coleman
"JUAN DE LA CRUZ" words and music by Joan Baez

Ramparts

Volume 13, No. 7 April 197[illegible]

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A Few Words

We were overwhelmed. In our March issue we printed a rather ungainly questionnaire, a Readership Survey intended to provide information useful to our advertising sales. Answering the 25 questions and sorting out the 200-some multiple choices may have been a little more pleasant than tangling with the IRS's 1040 (Long Form). But not much. The IRS provides an envelope. We, however, took our readers through a short course in Origami, enabling them to produce a business reply envelope by ingenious folding of the printed page. To seal the bargain, they had to find for themselves those most elusive of household items, a stapler or a piece of tape.

Who would find the time and take the trouble? Well, thousands of you did. Little more than a week out of the printer's hands, barely time enough for early subscription arrivals but long before the start of newsstand sales, 3000 fully answered questionnaires had arrived. And they are still coming in.

Although we are a long way from toting up the Surveys, we will publish the numerical results when complete. For now, we'd like to share with you—with no attempt at censorship other than to show a representative variety—a few of the comments volunteered with first returns. It was the comments above all which were so heartening. From them we sense your feeling that you can speak to us, and an awareness that there are really people here trying to speak to you. It has always been our hope that through this necessary medium of committed journalism a human voice comes through.

Many of the comments focused on persistent questions—*Ramparts*' attitude towards advertising, our prices, editorial emphases.... These deserve response. In future issues we will print some of these comments and try to say a few words of our own about the questions that they pose.

In the headnote to the Survey, we wrote, "Thank you in advance for your response." But, thanks again. Once was not enough.

The Editors

Reader Comments

Great magazine and improving. Recent articles are more straightforward and relevant than formerly. "The Passion of the Jews" was superlative.

Many of your articles are excellent and many times you miss the mark and just "beat your gums." I am not sure I will resubscribe next December . . .

Because you guys are penniless as usual, I'll chip in an envelope and a stamp. After all, it costs me only 10¢—it would cost you 12¢ if I used your 1st class postal permit.

Am a charter subscriber—however, at times have *hated* the magazine—and seriously considered never reading it again—articles such as "Baba Ram Dass" were a real turn-off.

We have subscribed to your magazine since issue one. It is a constant antidote to the TV and big city newspaper "news" which gives no news. We are to be counted as real fans. Thanks for being.

On question 11, it's a bit difficult to answer for *un*married people with children!

The above answers represent my own life, as I'm the mover in subscribing. My husband sometimes reads the magazine, is a history buff, a deck hand, rides a bike, smokes everything available and coughs.... I like *Ramparts* and know it is important in our society.

Love your in-depth articles. Please don't let those who complain of dryness or who try to push you into being a left-wing wailing wall in glossy print keep you from stabbing deep into issues of moment.

Miss occasional humorous and satirical pieces.

Most enlightening—sometimes unspeakably vulgar—but think *Ramparts* should be in every school library.

I hate to be just a name on your sub list but time is the thing I have the very least of. You sustain me in a plastic world. I feel that 75% of the people I must deal with daily are robots, and such contact draws the life out of me. *Ramparts* helps put life back in. Keep publishing.

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CHILE'S BEST MUSICIANS

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Excellent magazine. I encourage my students and co-workers to read and buy it. The Dec 74/Jan 75 issue was excellent. Your material so far is reliable and compares favorably with *The New York Review of Books.*

Periodically you are unintelligible, but I'm working on that. Keep it coming.

My community is something of an intellectual desert. *Ramparts* helps to keep me alive. Thank you.

Well written. Although liberal and leftist, I find *Ramparts* very informative and quite fair as regards the Middle East debacle. My fundamental philosophy is ultra-conservative, but I appreciate your viewpoints and am always willing to "lend an ear" to opposing philosophy. Keep up the good work. We both oppose the "ruling elite." Terence McCarthy is great.

My more conservative friends poohpoohed *Ramparts* back in '70-'71-'72. Now much of what you wrote about--Madame Chennault, for example--FBI--CIA--turns out to have really happened.

We enjoy the up-to-date, in-depth reporting on the grape and wine boycott. Please keep us posted. We've stopped buying Gallo wines. How about conditions on migrant workers in other parts of the U.S.

I am a charter subscriber and plan to continue. I enjoy *Ramparts* although I don't always agree. I do agree with the recent change in policy. It puts you in better position as a credible critic of the mainstream. For an establishment guy like me, *Ramparts* is my radical edge which helps me keep balance of perspective. Keep up the good work.

The workers at United Aircraft (an American company) in Longueuil, Quebec, have been on strike for 14 months. I thought I would mention this to you because it would be nice if someone outside of Quebec heard of it.

One thing I would like to see either as a separate feature or added to each article is a reference or further reading list.

Why no questions on drugs used other than liquor? I like your partisanship and see you as a forerunner of "advocacy journalism." However, I don't think you do enough poetry or philosophy or music.

As a zionist, it is good to read a socialist magazine that takes a balanced, critical, non-sycophantic pro-Arab position on the Middle East. Your articles on Israel provide healthy criticism. I would like to see discussions about "what a radical can do" here and now in the U.S.

Ramparts has a wonderfully honest and questioning spirit that I dearly love. It's one of the few magazines I look forward to reading.

I feel that your magazine is becoming less and less valuable to me. I feel you have allowed yourself to slip into the middle of the road.

I enjoy your leftist bias. It balances some of my more conservative reading. It also keeps me in touch with a side of sociopolitical life almost totally unrepresented in the area I'm stuck in (North Carolina).

Terence McCarthy is one of your finest assets.

We have been ardent supporters of *Ramparts* for many years--keep it up. Maybe we have lost some of our zeal and fervor for supporting causes for those less fortunate than ourselves. However, this is not the early sixties and we are no longer in our early 20s. *Ramparts* would do well to publish an occasional article (as it did in the past) on how we can cope with present day-to-day existence (forming food conspiracies and what have you).

As long as present standards are kept will continue to subscribe. As I can, I hope to contribute other funds to insure your existence. More Terence McCarthy!

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Lowndes County, Alabama:

The Great Fear Is Gone

Once upon a time in a country called America, in a county called Lowndes, lived a man named Mr. Blackman. One day while walking by the courthouse, Mr. Blackman thought: "Us colored people been using our mouths to do two things–eating and saying yes suh. It's time we said NO. Yes, it's time we get in this mess."

–from a comic book, "A Vote for the Lowndes County Freedom Organization is a Vote for Us," 1966.

The mess in Lowndes is not yet cleaned. The central Alabama county, where "black power" politics began almost a decade ago, is dirt-poor as it always was. Its population of black farmers and their families who live on the margins of the cotton fields and grazing pastures is still economically subservient to the small white minority in the sprawling farmhouses and the columned stately homes of Lowndesboro. The whites who still control the board of education and the county commissioners give blacks few benefits and little recognition, and that grudgingly. The schools are still segregated. But the more Lowndes stays the same, the more it changes. For although the sleepy villages and rolling farms may appear untouched by the movements that swirled through them in the Sixties, the atmosphere is profoundly new. The great fear is gone in Lowndes.

To outside agitators and observers who used to treat Lowndes as a living specimen of the problems and promises of southern civil rights organizing, the use of atmospherics as a measure of progress may seem naive, or cynical. We projected "power" in more tangible terms in those days. But the march to the commanding heights does not always proceed through plotted points; in Lowndes, a sense of freedom from fear is the base that supports both blacks and whites as they enter a long transition from the unreconstructed old order to a social design that is at best still sketchy.

The landmark event of this early period was the election in 1970–after several years of trying–of a black sheriff and two other black county officials: coroner and circuit court clerk. Of course, some folks in this slow and somnolent land will never see their elected officers from one term to the next, and never feel the direct effects of government. But the very fact of the election of black people in what was the center of southern white supremacy shattered the stability of the old system.

"It has made all the difference in the world," William Bradley, the black director of the local Head Start program, told me. Bradley, who is in his early fifties, grew up in Lowndes. "Do you know what it was like here before? It isn't anything like it was before John Hulett was elected sheriff. Blacks and whites agree on that."

"I do believe that the people have progressed," Mrs. Willie M. Strickland said with certainty. She was an energetic leader of the Lowndes County Christian Movement, and had once run unsuccessfully for the board of education.

They're more understanding and not so fearful as they were. They're more self-confident. In the May [primary] election, one woman, who's illiterate, came to vote and the boss–the white man–went up to her and said, "I'm going to take you in now to vote." And she said, "No. I'm going to go in myself. I don't need you to take me in." So they don't harass us bad like they used to–least you don't hear about it any more.

Harassment, and worse, had been the way of life for blacks in Lowndes since anyone can remember, and before. The county is tucked in the middle of what was once the cotton kingdom of Alabama: it is the buckle on the fertile Black Belt, where (they say) the soil is so rich that a peg-legged man's got to run through it quick or he'll take root. Lowndes had more than its share of slaves to work those rich fields, and even after the Civil War they were kept in a state of *de facto* peonage from which they did not begin to emerge until the 1940s. John Cashin, a leader of the National Democratic Party of Alabama, the predominantly black alternative to the state's regular Democrats, told me that when the selective service agents went into the Black Belt counties just before World War II they found "black

by Andrew Kopkind

Photographs by Ray Jenkins

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"The more Lowndes County stays the same, the more it changes. Although the sleepy villages and farms appear untouched by the movements that swirled through them in the Sixties, the atmosphere is profoundly new."

people who didn't know they were free. There were 2,000 blacks in Gee's Bend who had no last names, no marriages, no family structures except what existed in slavery."

The bus boycott, led by the young Martin Luther King in 1956, stirred Montgomery but hardly touched Lowndes, although the county borders the western limits of the capital city. Lowndes seemed to be preserved like a fly in amber, while the rest of the Deep South began to move and march. Lowndes still had an overwhelming black majority: about 12,000 out of a total population of 15,000 in those days. But the median income for black families was $935, against $4,400 for whites. Even in early 1966, as black registration swelled in other parts of the South, there were no black voters in Lowndes, while "118 percent" of the 1,900 eligible whites were registered—a statistical oddity that was somehow overlooked by white officials. The median educational level for blacks was 5.2 years of schooling; some 80 percent of the total population was termed "functionally illiterate." The schools, such as they were, were of course completely segregated. Whites went to Lowndes County High School; blacks went to ramshackle cabins in the outlying fields, and later, perhaps, to a decrepit and unequipped "training school," where the library was a cinderblock closet off the auditorium.

[CHANGING POLITICS]

The civil rights movement came late to Lowndes. A party of interested blacks from the county went to nearby Selma in early 1965 to talk with the leadership of King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, but returned with no promises of help and only vague instructions to "do something." One of the Lowndes group, Jesse Favors, recalled:

> *We just decided to hold a meeting. One night we went from place to place looking for a hall, but everyone said, "I ain't gettin' in that mess." Well, I had to trick a boy out of a key, but we found a place, and we had our meeting.*

History was supportive of the fledgling Lowndes movement even if organizations were not. It swept through one day in March 1965, as a long column of marchers on their way from Selma to Montgomery. That night, Lowndes earned a dubious distinction in the chronicle of the movement; Viola Liuzzo, a marcher from Detroit, was killed by Klansmen on the highway just south of Lowndesboro. The next morning, Martin Luther King led the multitudes into Montgomery, up Dexter Street to the steps of the state capitol.

More than Mrs. Liuzzo's death was frightening about Lowndes. The county's reputation for malevolence was well known, and perhaps for that reason it looked and felt dangerous. Two northern civil rights workers, Jonathan Daniels and Fr. Richard Morrisroe, had been attacked in a grocery store in Hayneville in the summer of 1965, after their release from the county jail where they had been held for some imagined infraction of the Lowndes code. Daniels was killed, Morrisroe wounded. Tom Coleman, a sometime deputy sheriff and courthouse regular, was tried for the crime and—like Mrs. Liuzzo's assailants—acquitted. No one in Lowndes doubts that the right men were in the dock. But in those days it was no crime to kill civil rights workers, at least in the eyes of all-white, all-male juries.

It was in that atmosphere that the Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human Rights began its work. Its first project was to challenge the legality of the white male jury system. In 1966, a three-judge federal court ordered Lowndes to admit blacks to juries and ordered Alabama to include women on all juries.

From that victory, the Christian Movement went on to voter registration. A first foray of 37 eligible black registrants was turned away by white registrars. But two weeks later another attempt was more successful: the first two black voters since Reconstruction were registered. In time—and with the impetus of the Voting Rights Act of 1965—the rolls opened up to the entire black population, and by 1966 it was clear that blacks would constitute a voting majority.

Precisely because Lowndes was the heart of darkness—and because it had a clear black majority—young activists

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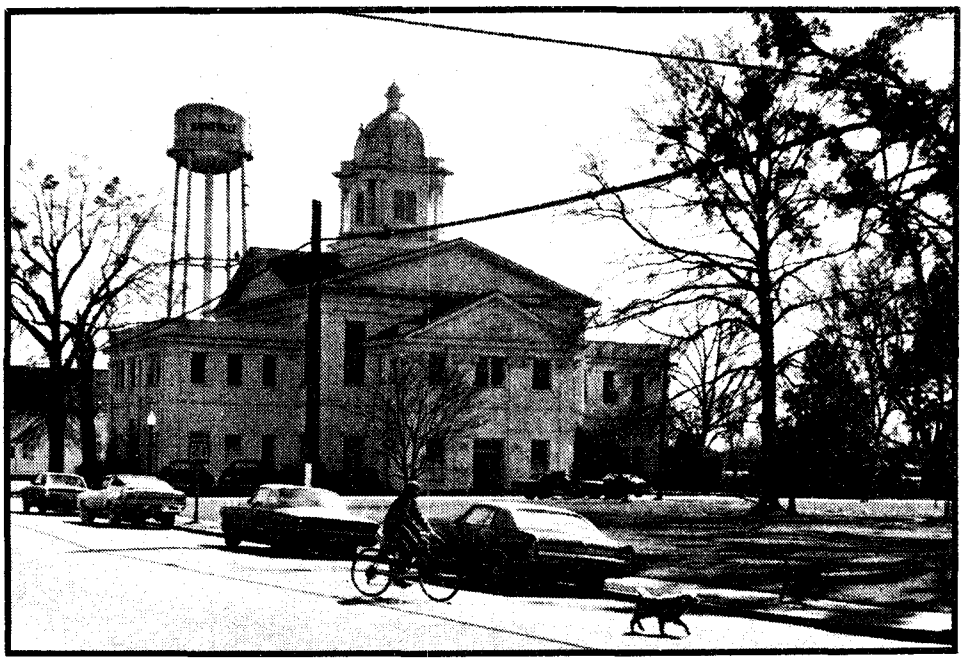
of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) chose it as the focus of a unique and daring political experiment. Lowndes was to bring forth the first all-black political party in the country, to "take the courthouse" and the county offices and give the blacks control of their land and their lives. Stokely Carmichael and the other SNCC workers in Lowndes argued that it would be futile to seek integration with the white Democratic party that had oppressed blacks for so long. "It's like asking the Jews of Germany to reform the Nazi party," he said. Local blacks agreed with Carmichael. The Democrats were the people who had "done the killing and beat our heads," as one organizer said.



Hayneville Courthouse, Lowndes County, Alabama

> *To me [John Hulett, the first president of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, once remarked], the Democratic primaries and the Democratic party are something like a gambler who carries a marked card around in his pocket and every now and then he has to let somebody win to keep the game going. This is what the Democratic party means to the people in Alabama. It's a gambling game. And somebody's got to win to keep the game going every now and then.*

The SNCC leaders came to their notions of black power after a season of bitter and frustrating experiences with local, state, and federal power structures. They also had appropriated bits and pieces of strategy and ideology from different northern and foreign sources: the urban ghettos, the universities, Africa, the anti-imperialist third world.

The Lowndes black leadership had only their own experience with politics to rely on. But it was enough to see that integration with white Democrats would be a long time coming. The whites made every effort to avoid recognition of the black vote. The qualifying fee for candidates in the primary was raised from $50 to $500, and registrars delayed as long as possible the completion of the Democratic party rolls.

[GOING IT ALONE]

The Lowndes County Freedom Organization—the "political" arm of the Christian Movement—had little choice but to go it alone. It scheduled its nominating convention for the 1966 election on the same day as the Democratic primary. An armed confrontation was narrowly averted; the Freedom Organization wanted to use the courthouse in Hayneville for its meeting, but the white sheriff ordered the blacks out, and deputized 550 armed white men to enforce his rule. At the last moment a "compromise" was achieved by the state's attorney general and the federal Justice Department, and the Freedom Organization moved to a church near the courthouse. But the blacks had shown a kind of fearless determination that was new to them—and to the whites.

The Freedom Organization (LCFO) took as its emblem the crouching black panther, "a vicious animal, as you know," as John Hulett used to say. "He never bothers anything, but when you start pushing him, he moves backwards, backwards, backwards into his corner, and then he comes out to destroy everything before him." The LCFO immediately became known as the Black Panther party, and Carmichael brought the symbol and the strategy of black party politics to Oakland that summer when urban blacks met to form a national political organization with the same name. It was the year of "black power," a watershed development for the civil rights movement and the black liberation struggle, and it was only logical that black power was born in Lowndes, the blackest and most powerless place in America.

The slate of Black Panther candidates for county office lost in the Lowndes election of November 1966. Another slate, under the same emblem, lost two years later. "We've been educated for fear too long," a young LCFO organizer, Johnny Jackson, had told a mass meeting before the first election. He and the SNCC workers had hoped to reeducate black voters quickly. But they soon found that it would take longer than they had ever believed.

"We had a majority going into those elections, but the people just weren't ready to make the break—not yet," one of the older party members told me. Part of the problem was the panther symbol itself—more fearsome to supporters and opponents alike than the regular Democrats' rooster. The panther had already become a national radical design, and the blacks of Lowndes were uneasy about their new identification with urban militants and insurgents. And even those who knew nothing of northern politics felt there was something wrong with voting for a party that didn't bear the name "Democratic" in Alabama.

Those difficulties were repaired, to a degree, when the LCFO abandoned

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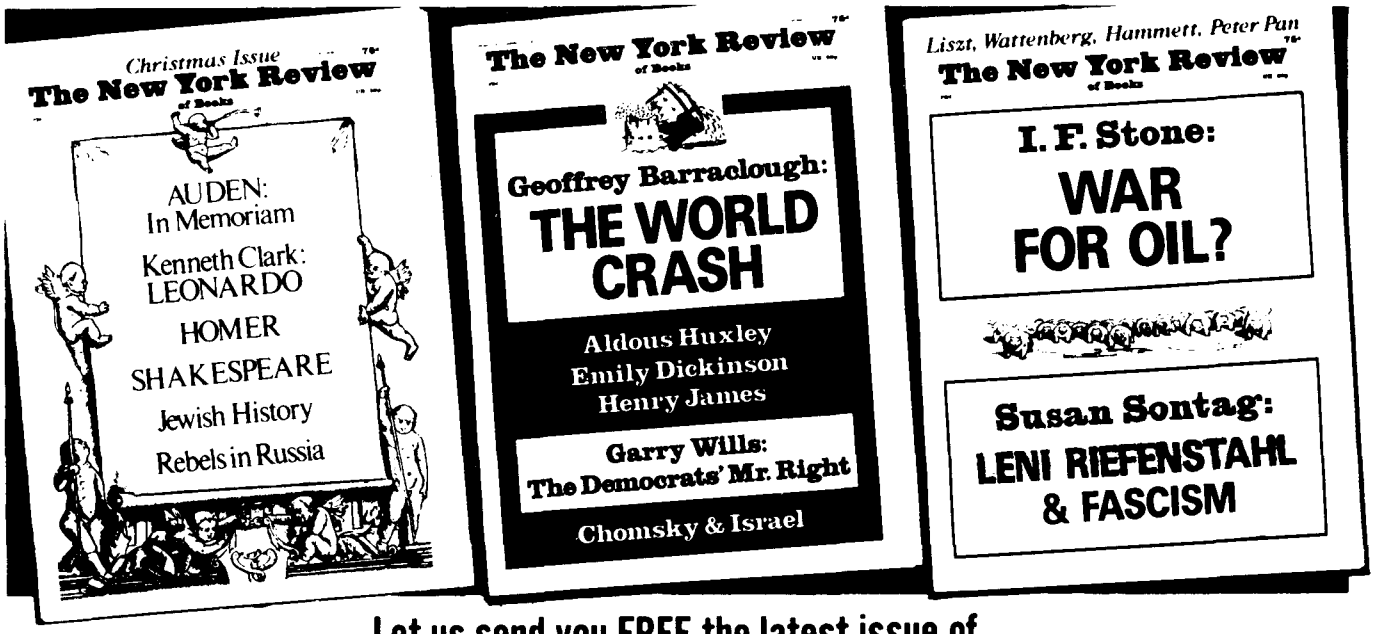

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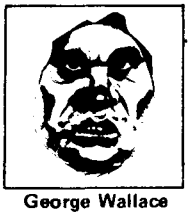
George Wallace

"Make way for the leading contender!" George Wallace announced recently. Garry Wills analyzes the dilemmas of the Democratic politicians and why they are now flocking around Wallace—in spite of all we hear about the "new" Democratic party. "American politics," he writes, "are the South's revenge for the Civil War."

Are we heading into a world economic crash likely to be even more severe than that of 1929? Distinguished historian Geoffrey Barraclough, whose *New York Review* article on The Coming Depression aroused so much discussion last year, sees the twin issues of food and energy as dangerously misunderstood because their history is ignored. Unlike other doomsayers, however, he suggests how the world's resources can support a population many times larger than now and outlines the changes needed if a crash is to be avoided.

The drawings are by noted artist David Levine, whose literary caricatures are a feature of The New York Review.

Emily Dickinson

"Emily Dickinson was a reticent woman with a habit of passionate attachment to married men," writes Irwin Ehrenpreis. In his moving review of the new two volume *Life of Emily Dickinson*, he examines the paradox of this most sheltered and withdrawn of women whose poetry is marked "by constant acquaintance with the most profound experience."

Sigmund Freud

Is anatomy destiny? Christopher Lasch reviews three new books on psychoanalysis and women and not only discusses the "revisionist" attacks on Freud, but tells us what Freud actually said about women, his psychoanalytic theory of womanhood, and, in doing so, recaptures for us the continuing power of his work.

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the black panther and folded itself into the National Democratic Party of Alabama (NDPA) in 1970. In some sense, it was not a drastic change. The Freedom Organization had been a forerunner of the NDPA, an earlier version of a black alternative to the regular Democrats that might win national support against segregationist control of the regular Alabama party. The NDPA had ties with northern blacks and white liberals dating from its struggles against the Wallace organization at the 1968 Democratic National Convention. Those ties made it suspect to the radical SNCC organizers in Lowndes, but more attractive to the local leaders after the isolation of two lost elections. SNCC was long gone, in any event, by the time of the 1970 campaign, and fears of a loss of ideological purity were overcome by the real possibility of victory under the NDPA eagle. The LCFO abandoned the panther (as did the organizations in the few other Black Belt counties that were using the same symbol), joined the NDPA—and won its first offices in Lowndes County.

[ACROSS THE GULF]

John Hulett was elected sheriff and the other two blacks won minor offices, but the county did not come under black control in the way the organizers had once hoped. Whites in Lowndes had begun to accommodate themselves to the new reality of black voting power before the 1970 vote: they appointed a few black deputy sheriffs and generally started "talking" to black leaders, even across the distance of lifelong apartheid. Even after Hulett was elected, however, the whites maintained their position in crucial areas.

"The sheriff is an important figurehead, but whites found out that it doesn't matter much to them that a black man has the job," a white Alabama journalist said recently. "The whites say, 'it's a nigger's job, let him do it.' They know that the state legislature and the governor will protect them if it comes down to a question of property." Even die-hard segregationists support some black candidates these days in the Black Belt, and blacks support whites as political strategy dictates. It all seems like "politics as usual"—with the startling but not revolutionary addition of black faces. For example, the Lowndes black leadership backed a segregationist white probate judge because he was becoming more accommodating to blacks, because blacks were not yet ready to run for the office or vote for a black judge, and because (as the NDPA's John Cashin said) "leaving a *white* figurehead in office is a good cover for what we want to do. It works both ways."

The Lowndes blacks also have supported a white woman for the board of education (she happens to be the probate judge's wife)—not primarily because she seems genuinely more "moderate" than other whites, which she does, but because she maintains an alliance with the blacks against another white political faction. Hulett admits it is now a matter of supporting Tweedledum against Tweedledee. But blacks can now exploit the ancient enmities of Democratic intraparty factions, for leverage if not for control.

There are factions, too, in the black community and the whites have become more adept at working within them to keep an upper hand in key sectors of county politics. For instance, the corps of black teachers constitutes a cautious and conservative class that has traditionally acted as power brokers between the whites and the poor black farmers. It was this black "elite" that continued to support white candidates in the two elections in the Sixties, and that still votes for whites for school superintendent, board of education, and county commissioners. The white board of education picked a black "friend" from the thin antimovement elite for its one appointed member.

"He's what we called a 'white-black,' " Head Start Director Bradley said of the black appointee, in the sad and angry way militant blacks always speak of "Uncle Toms."

He got up once at a school assembly and told the kids, "You be submissive and obedient to the white folks and you'll get along." You see, the board of education is still the largest single employer in the county, and it's being used effectively to sway or control people. There's a lot of uncertainty in the black community as to employment. Even black teachers don't know whether they're going to be employed until the day before school opens. Most teachers in Lowndes live outside the county, in Montgomery or Selma. They have no concern about what goes on here, except to keep their jobs. And it's hard to dismiss them because of the teacher tenure law. They're a very strong force, and they have an influence on our children that lasts for a long time.

If we can get control of the board of education we can speed up the process here and make some real progress; but not until then.

[A LONG ROAD]

The "process" has been tedious. The tempo of the Sixties has slowed, the sense of movement has waned. Then, there were marches and mass meetings every week; demonstrations, confrontations, and projects everywhere. The Christian Movement and the Freedom Organization were actively organizing the mass of black people for political power and, in a series of co-op projects, for economic self-sufficiency. The black organizations purchased 200 acres of land, with help from former residents who had moved to northern cities: a Detroit-Lowndes axis for money and support was established to help the projects. The land was to be used for farming and for pulpwood sales. Later, the American Friends Service Committee invested enough money to start a small sawmill business for the black community. The LCFO started a credit union and set up a grocery store in a neighborhood called Moss's Community.

But "movement" economic growth has been slow in a county that has practically no large industry or business to speak of. The one big plant in Lowndes—a Dan River Mills textile factory—hires few local residents for its automated operations, and in any case is just outside of Selma (in neighboring Dallas County). It also has a relocation-inducement tax break from Lowndes, which makes it practically worthless as an income source at this time.

(Continued on page 53)

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Reporter in Saigon

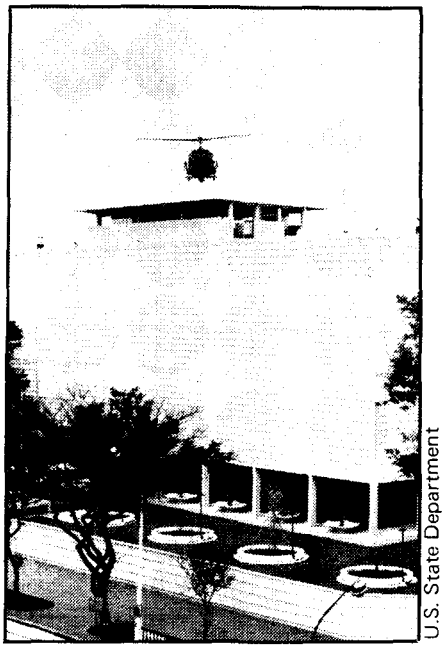
Being Briefed

"Who can still defend the U.S. role in Vietnam—after the Pentagon Papers or Watergate? At the Embassy they can, and do."

Correspondents call it "the Bunker." It's probably the most important building in Saigon, the place where the big decisions are made. After two weeks in North Vietnam and one of the zones under the control of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, I am standing in the well-guarded lobby of the American Embassy. For the first time since arriving in Indochina, I feel like I'm in enemy territory.

I'm here to be briefed—although if they knew where I'd been they would want to reverse the roles. Availing myself of a service regularly extended to correspondents abroad, I'm about to expose myself to a series of encounters with some of the analysts and "experts" who serve U.S. policy objectives in this part of the world. I'm here to see how they work as well as what they have to say.

These briefings are arranged on request for "background" only, a part of the government's effort to win the hearts and minds of America's people through its press. They are a device which allows supposedly knowledgeable officials to impart information without being held accountable for what they say. The ethics of the journalistic establishment require that you play by the rules—rules which disguise deception and so often perpetuate fraud. As a partial compromise for the sake of those reporters who will have to deal with these people in the future, I will paraphrase and quote without direct attribution. The names are not important anyway.



U.S. State Department

John Spragens, Jr./Indochina Resource Center

The Embassy was built as a fortress. Surrounded by a concrete wall with two prison-like guard towers, it was designed to stop rockets. A private guard service watches over the front gate which is off limits to just about everyone. Taxis have to discharge passengers up the block. Armed marines patrol its small lobby, which displays prominently tributes to the bravery of those marines who lost their lives defending the place. That was on January 31, 1968, when "the Viet Cong" sent some sappers inside to invite the Ambassador to the Tet Offensive. Next to the plaques honoring the dead is a glass trophy case in which Marine Company E shows off the trophies it has received in inter-service sports competition. It is the only personal touch in the whole place.

A reported 126 State Department officials keep themselves busy in this six-story building. There is also an undisclosed number of CIA operatives attached to such nondescript organizations as OSA—the Office of Special Assistant to the Ambassador. All the people who work here also apparently prefer the American life-style to the Vietnamese reality outside their doors. They tend to live together in well-secured buildings or compounds, looked after by their servants, insulated from the desperation in the streets. The Embassy complex itself has its own swimming pool and snack bar. The food is cheap and only American money is accepted.

U.S. Embassy, Saigon
Graham A. Martin, Ambassador to Vietnam

by Danny Schechter

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The Saigon Embassy is being run these days as a "tight ship" by Ambassador Graham Martin, a hardline anti-communist by anyone's standards. He is a veteran diplomat, a seasoned interventionist who used to manage the U.S. military-political apparatus in Thailand. Martin's vociferous defense of Thieu's regime has turned him into something approaching a one-man lobby for more aid to South Vietnam. He has frequently locked horns with the Peace Movement. On one occasion he told a prominent clergyman that he had blood on his hands because of his failure to condemn an alleged atrocity by the other side. He's categorically denied the existence of thousands of political prisoners, dismisses well-documented charges of torture, and praises the military stockade that is Saigon as a "free and open society." He is said to run the Embassy in a totally authoritarian manner and has forbidden his underlings any contact with the press unless it has been cleared. He openly refuses to meet with journalists he considers critical or negative toward "his" policies.

As a result, most of the resident reporters in Saigon feel frozen out by the Embassy. They dismissed my chances of actually getting in to see the Ambassador, something I had been able to do in Laos. "What's the point?" one correspondent asked me. "He won't say anything. Even if he does, you probably won't be able to quote him, he'll probably be lying and you won't be able to check out what he has to say anyway." Compelling logic. Nevertheless, seeing those people has more than curiosity value. Maybe I could glean some factual tid-bits about the covert maneuvers for which this Embassy is internationally infamous.

I was as interested in the psychology of these people as anything they had to say. Who can still defend the U.S. role here—after the Pentagon Papers, after Watergate, after the American people themselves became disgusted with the war and the policies which spawned it? They can, and do—as professionals, trained in the specialized discipline of diplomatic apologetics. Ideologically, they are well-indoctrinated, although when they talk to you they avoid rhetoric and tend to assume an agonized pose, to pretend at "objectivity." After all,

Paul Quinn/Indochina Peace Campaign

Saigon Police

they reason, it is we who are acting out a responsible world role; it is we who defend the values of the free world against the dogma and violence of the communists. "They want to have this whole place," one of them tells me. "They are absolutely determined." He was speaking of "them"—the North Vietnamese.

They study "them" here, from Saigon. Their radios are monitored and a CIA offshoot called the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) translates and distributes everything broadcast over Radio Hanoi or the clandestine Liberation Radio in the South. An Indochina Peace Campaign delegation learned in Saigon that its visit to the PRG zone in Quangtri had been announced—word of it is now on the desks of a half dozen spooks, news agencies, and computer banks. Undoubtedly, it is friendly embassies in Hanoi which send down North Vietnam's newspapers, theoretical journals, and weekly reports on the price of bananas in the marketplace—an item that diplomats watch as an indicator of economic problems. These texts are studied, analyzed, and selectively used for intelligence and propaganda. Finally, documents are captured, or more usually "reconstructed," from the bits and pieces of information squeezed out of prisoners by the torture that is called "interrogation."

The people here in the Embassy are not torturers. They don't hear the hiss of the electrodes which make possible the casual use of the phrase: "Information made available to the Embassy indicates . . ." Made available how? But never mind. I am lectured about the evils of the "journalism of involvement," the kind of subjective reporting which certain newspapermen engage in these days. People like David Shipler of the *New York Times*, whose vivid series on the treatment of prisoners occasioned, I'm told, an apoplectic reaction by the Ambassador, official denials by the Saigon police, and letters of outraged innocence from the State Department. A foreign service officer, the Ambassador has written, avoids "subjective emotional involvement."

[HANOI WATCHERS]

My first stop is the office of a man who calls himself a "Hanoi-watcher." There are maps on the wall, maps of Vietnam. A finger points to the no longer secret

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Indochina Resource Center

ıred nuns after anti-government demonstration, Saigon

offices of the COSVN, the so-called Central Office for South Vietnam. That, I'm told, is VC Headquarters, their Pentagon. It was to have been wiped out during the Cambodian invasion of 1970, but our troops never found it. I'm told they've decentralized their operation now and keep it mobile. Today, two separate briefings locate COSVN in two different places.

The man talking to me "just fell into his job," seems a bit bored by it now. He is earnest and authoritative, summarizing his perception of the North Vietnamese position, stressing their determination to "liberate" the South. The "so-called PRG," as the Provisional Revolutionary Government is called in these parts, is an extension of Hanoi, and the room is papered with diagrams to "prove" it. And then he pauses to add, "That's true, but it may not be relevant." He has plenty of facts to "prove" his case but this is a friendly chat, not an argument. Supposedly he has the information and I'm here to get what I can of it.

This "Hanoi-watcher" really doesn't tell me much, but his assessment is interesting: The PRG is not about to launch a new offensive although they "sure as hell" have the capability. (They don't have to. As far as the North is concerned things are going the way they want. The military pressure - at approximate 1971 levels - is keeping the ARVN on the defensive, causing heavy casualties. Aid cutbacks are making things tougher for Saigon as well. PRG pressure discourages more foreign investment, keeps things unstable, contributes to the economic crisis squeezing the South. They are also encouraged by the opposition movements, although they miscalculate their strength.) I ask him if he agrees with my assessment, if he thinks things are going the PRG's way. To my surprise, the analyst in him says yes, although he's not to be quoted. I ask the expert jokingly if he thinks his research would enable him to be a good adviser for the other side or prompt him to convert, as Daniel Ellsberg did. "No" is his expected reply, although he won't deny a certain admiration for these people; they have "accomplished quite a bit."

On to the specialist on the domestic political scene. We have our coffee in the Embassy bar. Looking out on the pool, we talk about the people who that very moment in late October were taking to the streets to challenge the regime. No one in the Embassy takes them very seriously. What do these people want anyway? They have no real program. There's nothing Thieu can do to satisfy them without committing political suicide. To one embassyite, they're a bunch of prima donnas. To another, a growing but still ineffectual lot. To a third, an indication that democracy lives, however imperfectly. "They wouldn't be allowed in a real police state, like Haiti or North Vietnam." Why then are there so many police in the streets, why the heavy intimidation? To protect property, of course, to prevent violence. "If these things grow," one press flack tells me, "there's a point where anarchy is approached and authority has to step in—as we saw in Washington during those riots in the Negro section. Now I'm not saying we've reached that point here . . ."

It turns out that this Embassy is literally overflowing with Germans just like the Nixon White House in its heyday. According to a knowledgeable Embassy watcher, "There are at least 15 old Germany hands or people of German extraction in important posts. They meet together and keep alive the spirit of the cold war. They even stage cultural events like a German beer festival called 'Oktoberfest.' This year they sent out invitations to it on Embassy stationery. It was written in German . . . I'm not saying these people are Nazis; they're more like the crew that put West Germany together after the war. They accept the idea of a country being divided permanently as quite natural. They want to apply it here. They are every bit as fanatical as they imagine their opponents to be."

Saigon's CIA Station Chief Thomas Polgar is a Hungarian who used to have the same job in Bonn. Graham Martin's first major assignment was as an administrator for the Marshall Plan which rebuilt Europe after World War II. It also opened the European economy to U.S. corporate penetration and had among its political objectives the suppression of communist worker movements in France and Italy.

Vietnam may be the last frontier for these ideologues of anti-communism. They are mesmerized by the Red Menace, a posture which seems out of step in this age of détente and improved relations with the Chi-

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nese. While their experts concede that the government in Hanoi enjoys the support of its people, their propagandists reduce the enemy to barbarians bent on conquest. "Who is it that puts bayonets in the stomachs of children?" a propaganda slogan asks the citizens of Saigon. The answer: The Viet Cong, of course. Until recently American advisers played important roles in this propaganda effort. It is this type of imagery, in subtler form, that the Embassy continues to peddle.

[MEETING THE PRESS]

Feeding the press corps with negative information about the enemy is not difficult. It is certainly easier than doing a public relations job for the Thieu government. Most of the effort these days seems to consist of denying that things are as bad as they seem to be. Ron Ziegler would be right at home. For example, an Embassy official commenting on the institutionalized corruption that everyone knows is pervasive in the Thieu regime: "Sure, there's corruption, but this is Asia." On Thieu's announcement that he has purged his 14-member Cabinet of ten members in an attempt to appease the anti-corruption movement: "Well, we've had cabinet shuffles before. At least give him credit for being responsive and taking action." And so it goes. The reporter is advised to be positive, to avoid the temptation of overplaying the mushrooming protests. "Jesus," he is told, "one paper is playing these demonstrations as the biggest thing since the invention of sliced bread." All the Embassy wants, to hear them tell it, is objective reporting.

To insure it, the Embassy maintains its links with what remains of the American press corps. Favors are extended and favors are returned. There are occasional leaks to selected friends, special interviews, exclusives. The Embassy monitors the press "product," influences it when it can, counters it when it must. Its accomplices are the lazy reporters who prefer to rewrite official press releases to launching their own investigations. Its agents are those wire services that continue to function as virtual extensions of the government's information network. Its unwitting accessories are those reporters who basically share the values and outlook of those in power. Even the best of our newspapers fall into this category. The emphasis on hard news plays up the "facts," dubious as they may be, but offers no independent interpretation or historical context. The moment the reporter rejects the view that Vietnam is a nation in revolution, or that the ongoing war has an overriding political meaning, reportage inevitably assumes a conservative and distorted direction.

Reporters with another point of view are either denied access to Saigon (several were barred, others expelled in the last year) or find it impossible to gain access to official sources. Those that do manage to get around the obstacles face the prospect of government attempts to discredit them.

That is what happened to me after my return from Vietnam. My visit to the Embassy was made possible because I was carrying credentials from the *Boston Globe,* one of the country's leading liberal and long-time anti-war dailies. The *Globe* had advanced me some money for the trip to Vietnam, and I visited the Embassy to get the American point of view. When the Embassy officials learned that I had first been to North Vietnam, and wasn't a run-of-the-mill reporter, they were incensed. The State Department protested officially to the *Globe,* while in Saigon the Embassy inspired the next *Globe* reporter on the scene to attack me personally.

On December 17, the *Globe*'s op-ed page featured a column from its Asia correspondent Mathew Storin. Datelined Saigon, it asked: "Why does Hanoi merit support from Americans now?" It attacked an October 30 broadcast by Radio Hanoi on which I appeared —a transcript of which could only have been provided by the Embassy. The column blasted me as a contributor "to the Hanoi government's propaganda machine" and echoed the Embassy line that it is the North Vietnamese who are responsible for fomenting the continuing war. People like me are called "simplistic" because we fail to insist that the communists massacre people and commit atrocities. As evidence, he repeats as fact the Saigon government charge that the "Viet-Cong" sent a mortar round into a school house in the town of Cai Lay in March 1974, murdering 23 innocent school children.

Curiously, this same incident was invoked, in almost identical terms, in a publicized letter from Ambassador Graham Martin to an anti-war clergyman implying that the blood of those children was on his hands. Several Congressmen later rebuked the Ambassador for using such offensive tactics. It was subsequently revealed that the facts of the matter itself are cloudy. There have been reports that Saigon forces accidentally destroyed the school house and then sought to turn the incident to propaganda advantage. But since Saigon never permitted an outside investigation, we will never come closer to the full truth.

But for the *Globe* reporter, as for so many of his predecessors, this controversy doesn't exist. There's only the Saigon and the U.S. government version. A day later, this same correspondent published a feature on the school house incident, once again treating it as a proven PRG atrocity. I have no doubt that the reporter's visit to the school was arranged with the help of the American Embassy and that the Embassy's press counsellor encouraged him to attack me by name.

This is a dirty business, a logical extension of a dirty war. Happily, it may be ending sooner rather than later. The defensiveness of the hacks in the Embassy betrays a fatigue, a sense of the hopelessness of their own situation. There is none of the "turning the corner" optimism which used to flow from these same official sources years ago. Today they are a discouraged lot, bitter about the continuing opposition to the war and U.S. policies. What a contrast between them and their counterparts in Hanoi or the PRG. The revolutionary Vietnamese are optimistic and committed to a positive vision of the future. The official Americans have nothing to write home about, and know it. They want to keep the rest of us enmeshed in their own web of self deception. After meeting them—and their adversaries—I know it won't work.

Danny Schechter is News Director at WBCN-FM in Boston. *Research for this article was partially funded by a grant from the Fund for Investigative Journalism.*

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Tax Time: Soaking the Poor

"Government is therefore engaged in creating poverty, and in taking back by taxation what has not been taken by inflation."

Now is the time when, through their taxes, people pay for past military adventures which have eaten up the substance of the nation, and for preparation for future wars which will gobble up whatever remains. This time most of the people have little or nothing with which to pay. But pay they must, and whatever is left over will be swallowed by inflation. What has been engorged by America's military madness is the whole of the social trust funds: the weekly contributions made by workers and their employers for unemployment compensation, medical assistance, social security pensions, and all the anti-poverty devices built laboriously since 1932.

Nothing is left but debts by Government, which it intends to meet by printing money to bring its accounts into bookkeeping balance, and which will progressively depreciate to destitution the standard of living of those already in poverty or on its fringes. Government is engaged in the creation of poverty, its extension over larger and larger segments of the population, and in taking back by taxation what has not been taken by inflation.

The political consequence, of course, is a quarrel between the Administration and the Congress. In appearance, the quarrel appears to be over how much tax relief to grant the people. In reality, the tax relief proposals—and their apportioning among income groupings—are so diminutive as to be meaningless except for a very few. Nevertheless, there are germs of principle involved in this dispute.

The Democratic Congress is accused by the President of doing nothing, of developing no plans and evolving no programs to relieve the poverty which has suddenly overtaken the nation. And the President is right. The Congress is doing precisely nothing.

In turn, the Congress accuses the President, in his energy and tax programs, of conspiring to deepen the new poverty and—by preferential tax alleviation—further to enrich the wealthy. And the Congress is right. It is exactly this that the Ford-Rockefeller Administration is trying to bring about.

There *are* issues of principle in the two approaches. The Joint Committee of the Congress wants to do *something* (though that something is vanishingly small) for the 25 percent of the populace suddenly shaken out of their middle-class status, by returning to them a miniscule part of their loss in real income that has been caused by unemployment and inflation. The Administration wants, by reducing consumption by the poor and transmitting the balance to the wealthy, to restore some part of the saving capacity of the wealthier groupings, lost through inflation and high interest rates, in order that bank deposits can again be built up, the lending capacity of the banks restored, and capitalist industry consequently revitalized.

In fact, all that Congress wants is to return $8 billion of tax payments as rebates and tax relief on 1974 incomes—a mere 4.75 percent of total personal tax and penalty payments by individuals annualized over the first nine months of 1974. The Administration wants to return half again as much, $12 billion, but has a very different idea as to the distribution of the rebates, with none of it to go to those in deepest poverty.

Congress would give 56.5 percent of its miniscule tax relief to those whose incomes did not exceed $10,000 per year; one third to those in the $10,000-$20,000 income bracket; about 10 percent to those in income brackets above $20,000. Ford-Rockefeller, on the other hand, would give only 15 percent of the aggregate tax rebate to those with incomes below $10,000; 41.5 percent to those in the $10,000-$20,000 income bracket; 43.5 percent to those with incomes above $20,000 per year.

The differences between the two

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approaches are critical in social essence, although the beneficial effects upon the permanently poor (almost half the population) are negligible in both cases. Yet these differences in principle need to be fitted into a meaningful context. The $8 billion of 1974 personal tax relief proposed by the Congress represents less than 1 percent of personal consumption expenditures of the U.S. annualized over the first three quarters of 1974, and compares with a 12-months increase of 10.8 percent in consumer prices. The tax rebates proposed by the President represent, for those in income brackets above $10,000 per year, about 7 percent of estimated personal savings of the nation annualized over the first nine months of 1974. The President's bias towards the middle class and the rich is obvious. He believes that depression can be overcome only by increasing real savings, *i.e.,* by heightened capital formation and utilization. The Congress makes a token gesture towards the permanently poor and the new poor.

Each accuses the other of programmatic dishonesty. Ford's attempt—now abandoned—to raise the price of food stamps in the face of rising food prices was, without question, a gesture not only of disdain but of outright enmity towards the most deprived. The Administration followed the elementary logic that there would be no poor if all the poor were allowed to starve. One cannot fault it for lack of clear reasoning.

The Democratic Congress hopes—with eyes shut tight against realities—that its minute tax relief program will somehow, in some unexplained manner, dislodge the influences which have caused depression to settle over the nation. What Congress wants is to return to what was before 1973. The Congress accuses the President of heartlessness. The President accuses the Congress of economic imbecility.

[THE STATISTICS OF POVERTY]

The trouble with these accusations is that each is simultaneously true and false. True in the sense that the President clearly intends to benefit the wealthy, and the Democrats to disregard the realities of poverty. False in the pretence, or misguided belief, that the poverty into which millions have suddenly been forced by inflation and depression was previously confined to a very small proportion of the population.

In fact, almost half the American people lived in poverty before the economic catastrophe of 1974-75 overtook the nation—families which earned less than $9,000 per year. There was, of course, a solid middle class in the consumer-unit income bracket $9,000-$13,999 per year which, constituting 25.5 percent of all consuming units, received 25.2 percent of the nation's total family personal income in 1971.* For this specific grouping, the distribution of Family Personal Income (FPI) was about as egalitarian as could be arrived at, social planning or no. This group consisted, for the most part, of higher-paid workers working overtime with, in perhaps a majority of cases, husband and wife both working. And it is this group, about one quarter of all consumer units of the nation, which has suddenly been thrust downward from its equal proportionate share in total FPI into the inequality, poverty, and insecurity which 47 percent of the nation's consumer units suffered in 1971 before the oil embargo and the depression tumbled the whole income edifice of American capitalism into chaos.

It is this 25.5 percent with which the Democratic Congress is principally concerned, not with the 47.2 percent in poverty brackets in 1971, nor the 27.1 percent with incomes graduating from superfluity to outright opulence. The Congress and the President, however they may quarrel, each want to return to the conditions of 1971, to the iniquitous and unpardonably gross maldistribution of income which characterized that year.

There is an illusion abroad that immediately before the oil embargo of 1973 the lower income groupings of the nation were quickly gravitating towards the real income levels of the middle class, and that the income levels of the super-rich were being diminished rapidly by progressive taxation on incomes. This impression is false. But its prevalence has pitted the quarter of the nation enjoying proportionate income equality not against the rich and the super-rich, but against the poor. It is the poor who have been presented as a threat to the income levels of middle-class workers, the obvious fact of millions living on welfare being pointed to as the reason why well-paid workers are not still more well paid.

In today's morality the idle poor are viewed as a menace, their consumption as parasitism. The idle rich are looked upon as benefactors, *their* consumption supporting legions of servitors—whether gardeners or stockbrokers. These are the ancient ideas of Anglosaxonry; an echo, for the poor, of the Sturdy Beggar laws of 15th century England and, for the rich, of Mandeville's *Fable of the Bees* of 1714, aptly subtitled by him *Knaves Turn'd Honest.* Poverty is vice, extravagance virtue.

It is with indifference that "statesmen" contemplate the fact that the collective incomes of those in income brackets above $14,000 per year in 1971 was about 2.8 times the collective income of those with Family Personal Incomes below $9,000 per year; with utter unconcern that 35.8 percent of consumer units were in FPI brackets below $7,000 per year, 47.2 percent below $9,000 per year.

On a consumer-unit basis the difference between the higher and the lower income groupings was extraordinary. The majority of the nation's FPI was received by little more than one quarter of the consumer units, with 27.1 percent of the consumer units getting 58.3 percent of the nation's FPI. At the lower end of the income scale in 1971, 26 percent of the consumer units received only 5.6 percent of the nation's Family Personal Income; at the upper end, 5.9 percent of the consumer units received 20.7 percent of FPI, resulting in an income differential of more than 16-to-1.

Shocking as these statistics are (they approximate the income distribution of Europe in the 18th century) they understate the realities. For in order to get a true measure of American inequality, we must first eliminate from the statistical series the middle 25+ percent of consumer units which received 25+ percent of the nation's total FPI, and then see how the

*** All data derive from the October 1974 issue of the *Survey of Current Business* published by the U.S. Dept. of Commerce.**

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rest was distributed among the nation's remaining income groupings. (In the language of the statistician, we have two universes to examine: one in which proportionate income distribution approximates the national mean; the second in which proportionate income distribution departs widely from the mean.)

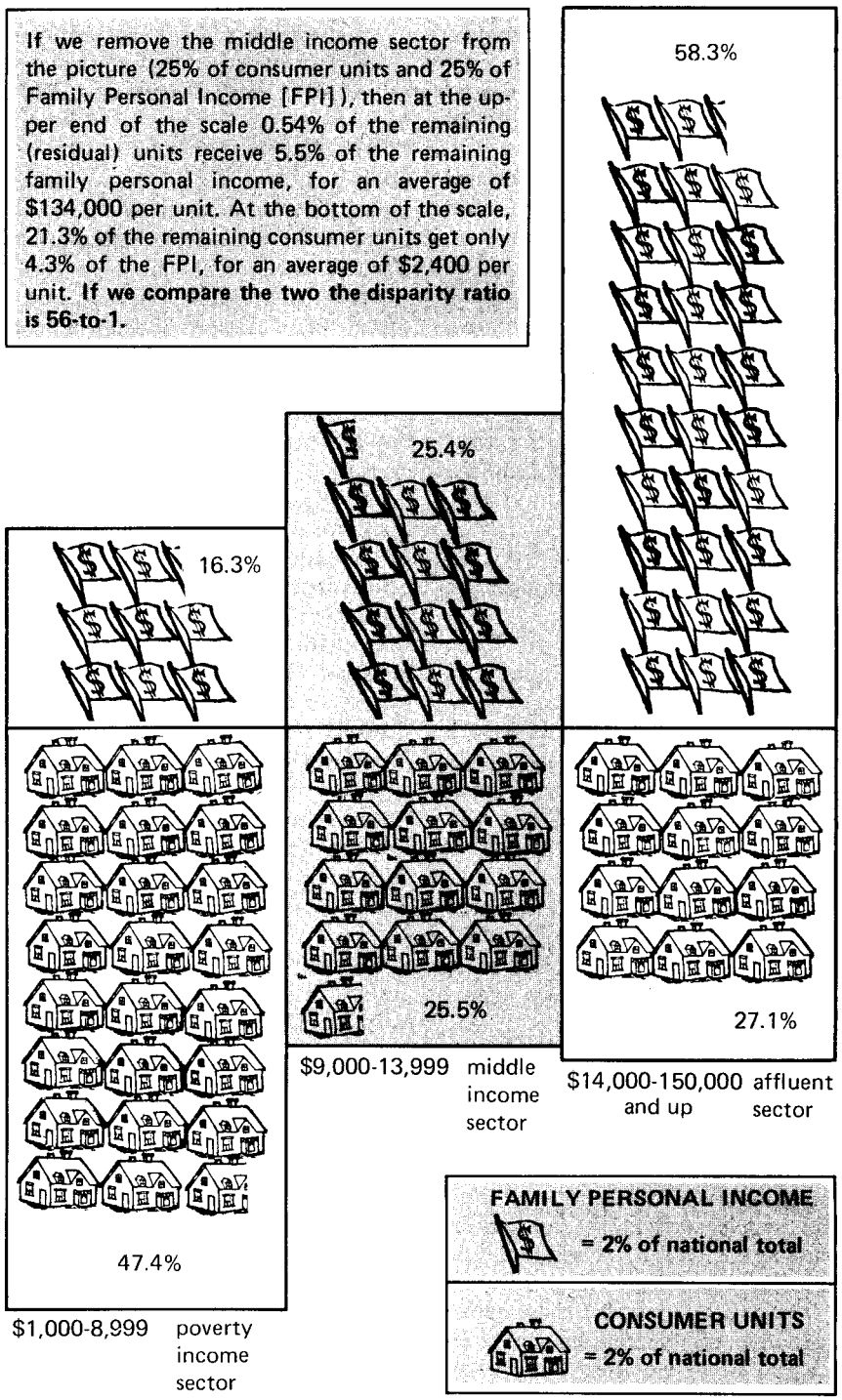
Eliminating the egalitarian middle class, we are left with 74.5 percent of the nation's consumer units, some 50.5 million consumer units, getting 74.8 percent of the nation's FPI (or about $599 billion). This appears to represent equality, but only in the sense that 100 percent of the nation's income must, by definition, go to 100 percent of its population. The real question is how this residual FPI was distributed among the residual consumer units.

The first, and most shocking fact, is that 21.3 percent of the residual consumer units (11,125,000 in number, including families and unrelated individuals 14 years of age and over) got only 4.3 percent of the residual national FPI in 1971. This is the low end of the income scale in egalitarian America, with average FPI of *less than $2,400 per consumer unit.*

At the upper end of the scale, 0.26 percent of the residual consumer units (124,000 in number) got 3.8 percent of residual FPI, for an average of almost $182,000 per unit; 0.54 percent of residual units (247,000) got 5.5 percent of residual FPI. Some 247,000 consumer units at the top collectively received more than $33 billion of FPI compared with $26.6 billion of FPI for 11,125,000 consumer units at the bottom. The average FPI for the 247,000 was about $134,000 per unit; for the 11,125,000, some $2,391—a disparity ratio of 56-to-1.

[NOT NUMBERS BUT PEOPLE]

It is this outrageous imbalance to which the Congress and the Administration should be addressing themselves. And it is exactly this which Administration and Congress studiously, and with malice aforethought, refrain from bringing to the attention of the electorate and introducing into their deliberations. For the political reality is that the first duty of a man or woman elected to public of-


If we remove the middle income sector from the picture (25% of consumer units and 25% of Family Personal Income [FPI]), then at the upper end of the scale 0.54% of the remaining (residual) units receive 5.5% of the remaining family personal income, for an average of $134,000 per unit. At the bottom of the scale, 21.3% of the remaining consumer units get only 4.3% of the FPI, for an average of $2,400 per unit. If we compare the two the disparity ratio is 56-to-1.
58.3%
25.4%
16.3%
25.5%
27.1%
47.4%
$1,000-8,999 poverty income sector
$9,000-13,999 middle income sector
$14,000-150,000 and up affluent sector
FAMILY PERSONAL INCOME = 2% of national total
CONSUMER UNITS = 2% of national total

Information from *Survey of Current Business,* Oct. 1974

"When we discuss consumer units we are dealing with people—individuals and families . . . people surviving at bare subsistence at one end of the scale, and living in profligacy at the other end."

Graph by Diane Coleman and Mario Santilli

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fice is not to bring about basic change but to get reelected. And one cannot—candidates believe—get elected, let alone reelected, in Democratic/Republican America by raising fundamental issues.

The issues are plain to see, available to the President, his Cabinet and Council of Economic Advisers, to every Congressman and Senator, and to every American citizen who can add and subtract. They have been diligently researched and publicly reported in the Survey of Current Business. And they have been ignored. What economist—for that matter, what non-economist concerned citizen—has pondered them, forced them to the attention of his so-called representatives, and demanded a program of action designed to obliterate this manifest and totally inhumane disequality.

The answer, as far as I can discover, is that nobody has done it. Instead, this malaise of inequality, and of growing inequality as depression deepens, is explained by the use of scapegoats. Today in the U.S., poverty is blamed on the Arabs—as Hitler blamed Germany's inequality and inflation on the Jews.

However, we are not dealing with income distribution caused by OPEC, but with what it was years before the quadrupling of oil prices. Nor are we dealing with the recent fall of at least $129 billion in the prices of listed and unlisted stocks, nor even with the rise and fall in corporate profits. When we discuss consumer units we are dealing with people—individuals and families. The data, in short, concern themselves with people surviving at bare subsistence at one end of the scale, and living in profligacy at the other end.

You might think that these appalling statements of gross inequality are exaggerated in the sense that welfare payments, etc., are excluded from the income concept. Disabuse yourself of this notion. The authors of the *Survey* article define Family Personal Income with great clarity. They state,

> *FPI is composed of all money income that is received regularly (called total money income, or TMI, in this article) plus several types of imputed income, medicare benefits received, and the net value of food stamps (called non-money income in this article) less personal contributions for social insurance. FPI is measured before deduction of taxes; capital gains are excluded.*

That is, the definition of FPI maximizes the incomes of the poorest and minimizes the incomes of the wealthy. And what the authors mean by the "net value of food stamps" is the difference between the dollar value of the food that can be bought with the stamps and the cost of the stamps to the recipient.

Imagine, then, an inflationary rise in the price of foods, as has already occurred. Foodstamp recipients, assuming constancy in the price they pay for stamps, would automatically be credited with an increase in their FPI, constituting enlargement of the dollar value of the food they could buy with stamps compared with the cost of the stamps to them. That is, those so desperately poor as to be in the food stamp program would automatically be calculated as receiving increased Family Personal Income, though their literal food intake would remain unchanged. But because capital gains are excluded from the FPI as calculated for 1971, the 17.7 percent average rise in the market value of Moody's 125 Industrials (common stocks) which occurred in 1971 are *excluded* from the FPI of the capitalists and speculators, as is the 4.5 percent increase in the book value of these shares after dividend payouts.

Thus, if the data are flawed, the flaw lies in understatement of income maldistribution, not in overstatement. And no measure is made in the data of the proportions of FPI, going to the grossly disparate income groupings, which must be spent on bare essentials. That is, there is no indication at all as to the point in the residual income distribution at which discretionary spending becomes impossible. The impression one gets is that for at least 46.7 percent of the residual income units with incomes below $7,000 per year (24.3 million consumer units) with collective FPI of $99.4 million, or about $4,000 per year on average) the gradation is from zero discretion in spending to the lowest tip of discretionary potential. About 38 percent of total consumer units (including the 25+ percent middle class) enjoy limited to substantial discretion, with FPI per unit ranging from $7,000 to $13,999. Some 21.1 percent of residual units, in income brackets of $14,000-$19,999, have very large discretion. The remaining 14.6 percent of residual units, with income ranging from $20,000 to $100,000 and over, have high to almost unlimited discretion as to expenditures, with aggregate FPI of $244.4 billion or an average of $32,385 per consumer unit.

Deprivation consists not only of elementary physical essentials, but of the right to exercise choice. The poor have no such capacity except to choose between beans and spaghetti; the middle class, a reasonable capacity; the upper brackets, a capacity ranging from unreasonably high to almost limitless.

Exercise of discretion is the basic attribute of the human being. This is what distinguishes us from all other creatures. Deprived of choice, as are America's poor even in what we call normal times, the poor are reduced below the level of humanity.

To any thinking man or woman it should be obvious that this dehumanization must be ended. Equally obvious is that something approaching equality for all persons fit and willing to work can be accomplished only if, beyond some point in income size, *all* income be confiscated and redistributed among lower income groupings. A necessary corollary is that all inheritance halt at the second generation, and that estate taxes be levied not upon the acquisition cost to the decendent but upon the fair market value of the estate at the time of death. Equally necessary is that work be made compulsory for all adults in good health, with obvious exceptions in families where young children are being raised or where untoward circumstances prevail.

In no other way can economic equality be attained in the United States or the basic human right of exercising free choice be extended to all the people of the nation. It follows that the Beautiful People and their worthless, costly geegaws must be swept away by a vigorous, irresistible broom of change in social organization and in concepts of social morality.

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Solar Power Now

by Tom Zeman

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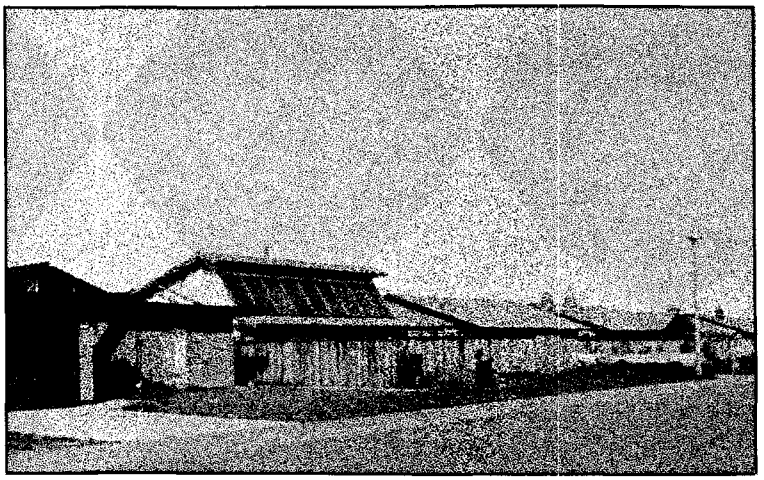

Few people pay any special attention to the home of Chuck and Jan Ward in Davis, California. And at first glance, it's not apparent why anyone should. The Wards live in a ranch-style home in a recently developed suburban area of this college town, and their house looks a great deal like others on the block. But the nine window-like panels discretely designed into a dormer on the roof remind the careful observer that there is something very unusual and exciting happening in this particular house. Those panels represent an important new departure in this country's struggle over a national energy policy: the arrival of direct solar energy as a practical, economically feasible way of providing heat for the average American home.

The advantages of direct use of the sun's energy are obvious and decisive. At a time when the nation is on the brink of a trillion dollar commitment to massive development of fossil fuel and nuclear power, carrying with it the gravest environmental and social implications, solar power —combined with a serious energy conservation program— offers us an infinitely more attractive alternative. Solar energy is not only safe and environmentally clean; it is also inexhaustible and free. Not even Exxon, not even OPEC, will ever own the sun.

The solar power/conservation approach also offers the most practical remedy to the short-term energy crunch over the coming decade because it is technologically the simplest. In contrast, practical, *safe* nuclear energy is a long way off. A nuclear power plant takes a decade to build and license. Uranium supplies in this country are running short, prices for building and fueling nuclear power plants have doubled and tripled since 1970, and perfection of the first generation of nuclear reactors, let alone the as yet untried breeder reactors, is far away. One business magazine, *Forbes,* recently warned that America's increasing dependence on foreign uranium supplies could lead to the formation of a "uranium OPEC" which would do to the price of nuclear power what the oil producers have done to the price of oil. (Similarly, it takes about eight years to put an offshore oil well into production.)

By contrast, a serious solar power/conservation program could be applied immediately, and begin cutting into demand for other forms of energy by the end of the decade. While the nuclear reactor program remains bogged down in scandals over safety standards, solar technology has been extensively tested and proved. Solar water heating did a booming business in Florida, the southwest, and California during the first half of the century, and it died out only in the Fifties when natural gas was temporarily cheap and plentiful. In the last two decades, tens of thousands of solar heating units have been manufactured and installed in Israel, Japan, and elsewhere. In parts of Australia, solar water heating is now required by law.

Other, more sophisticated applications of solar power do indeed require considerable research and development before they can be put into practice. But that should not obscure the fact that present day solar technology, such as the Wards employ in their home, is ready to be implemented now.

But without a word of public debate, the solar/conservation strategy has been shunted aside by the energy policy-

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makers in favor of an accelerated nuclear/fossil fuel program. The R & D budget recently proposed by the new Energy Research and Development Agency (successor to the AEC) tells part of the story. The vast majority of the budget—over two billion dollars worth—is devoted to nuclear energy, including weapons development (ominously the biggest single item in the national energy budget), uranium enrichment, and reactor development. Next comes funding for coal, then petroleum, then oil shale. Finally, with a mere 1.5 percent of the ERDA budget, comes solar research. The $57 million dollar solar program is just a fraction of the accelerated solar development budget proposed by the National Science Foundation, and is actually $10 million short of the "minimal" solar program described by the NSF.

But the ERDA budget is no more than a reflection of the overall national budget for energy development—a budget which, according to Chase Manhattan Bank, will run well over a trillion dollars between 1970 and 1985. As the oil company advertisements never tire of telling us, the vast bulk of research and development of new energy sources will come not from public tax monies, but from private corporate profits over whose disposition only the boards of directors have any say. A sign of the extent to which national energy policy has become hostage to corporate balance sheets was the recent abandonment by the Ford Administration of its modest proposal to tax windfall oil profits after the oil companies threatened to curtail their new investments. When the trillion dollar investment decisions have already been left to the energy industry to make, it should be no surprise that federal R & D priorities simply follow suit. And the leading suit for the big decision-makers, such as Exxon, General Electric, Westinghouse, and the utilities, is certainly not the rapid development of a free, limitless supply of energy provided by the sun.

What all this amounts to is an abdication of any meaningful public control over national energy policy in general, and a deferral, for the "foreseeable future," as a GE spokesman put it, of serious development of available solar technology in particular. The lopsided numbers in the ERDA budget tell us that perhaps the most fateful decision of the last quarter of the century has been made for us, and we have not even been told, let alone consulted.

[TAKING WRONG TURNS]

Direct use of solar energy has a long history, stretching back to the second century before Christ when the Romans used solar reflectors to set enemy ships on fire. A solar powered steam engine was featured at the Paris world exposition almost a century ago. The National Petroleum Institute, hardly the chief proponent of the solar/conservation strategy, admits that, "Had it not been for an abundance of fossil fuels . . . we might today have a 'Solar Energy Economy' just as effective and efficient as our 'Fossil Fuel Economy.'" Well supplied by fossil fuels, Americans have tended to relegate direct use of solar energy to the realm of science fiction. But it is now apparent that fossil fuels are not unlimited, and that the fossil fuel economy is neither effective nor efficient; in fact, it is collapsing. What is less apparent to most people is that our present energy system sounds and works more like science fiction than any alternative we could possibly invent. We take for granted the incredibly circuitous process of discovering, extracting, refining, transporting, packaging and burning long-fossilized plant life in order to obtain geologically concentrated doses of the same solar energy that shines down upon us, every day and everywhere.

To be sure, this Rube Goldberg system of putting the sun's energy to work performed quite well for a century or so, but the awkwardness of the system has finally caught up with us. First, we've been using this stored up energy much faster than nature can manage to concentrate it for us: fossilization takes a long time, and nature's cupboard is beginning to look bare. Second, we can't even use efficiently all the fossilized sunlight we have been releasing so indiscriminately. The better part of that solar energy which has been accumulating under the earth over the lifetime of the planet is being returned to the environment in a geological instant, as *wasted* heat—resulting in serious thermal pollution (not to mention all the other more familiar pollution problems caused by burning fossil fuel). It has become obvious that the financial, environmental, and social costs of such a roundabout system of utilizing the sun's energy have become too much to bear.

Nuclear power plants were once heralded as the answer to the nation's future energy needs. But it turns out that the nuclear cure is worse than the fossil fuel disease. Uranium for the present generation of reactors is running in even shorter supply than fossil fuels. The "breeder reactor," which is supposed to produce more fuel than it consumes, is still on the drawing board and is likely to stay there for a long time. But what is worse, the reactor program has been beset by a series of scandals surrounding the safety of the plants (see RAMPARTS, August 1974). A great many of the plants now in operation have been shut down to investigate mysterious cracks in the pipes carrying coolant to the nuclear core. So far, the back-up core cooling system, which is supposed to prevent disaster in case the main system fails, has itself failed to operate properly in the only tests made. And even if that system could be made to work, it would still not put to rest legitimate fears of a core "meltdown" which could result in tens of thousands of deaths. Although there would be no mushroom cloud explosion, the release of deadly radioactive materials would be disastrous.

In addition, nuclear power plants release *more* waste heat to the environment than do fossil fuel plants, thus *accelerating* thermal pollution. And nuclear power plants leave another legacy, one far more dangerous than even the worst effects of fossil fuel plants—intensely radioactive waste products, often seething with their own heat, which will remain a severe threat for thousands of years. Our present technology has no idea how to neutralize these wastes: they can only be stored, and watched continually. Even proponents of nuclear power, such as Dr. Alvin Weinberg, formerly head of the AEC's Oak Ridge Laboratories and now with Project Independence, admit that *just guarding these wastes* against accident or sabotage will require a "commitment to a permanent social order" and the creation of a "nuclear priesthood" that must dedicate itself to thousands of years of uninterrupted service.

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The obvious alternative to the fossil fuel and nuclear nightmares is to cut across the long, complicated process of photosynthesis, fossilization, extraction, combustion, and all the intermediate steps, and simply utilize the sun's free and plentiful energy directly. About 5000 times as much energy shines down on this country every year than even the most extravagant predictions tell us we'll need in the year 2000. The problem is learning how to concentrate and store it for our own purposes. As the energy industries are quick to point out, large-scale, centralized production of solar-generated electricity is not yet feasible. But that is not really the point. We could use solar energy *now,* using decentralized solar collection equipment—in houses, apartment buildings, farms, offices, even factories—to cut deeply into the supplies of fossil fuel and electricity the energy industries must now provide.

The most promising way of doing this in the long run is the photovoltaic cell, which converts sunlight into electrical energy. The cells work—they are used on orbiting satellites to provide electrical energy. But at the moment they are about ten times too expensive for widespread terrestrial use. Bringing down the cost of solar cells, to meet the whole spectrum of energy needs, would constitute a major revolution in energy technology. It ought to be the nation's primary research and development commitment, ahead of new weapons systems, nuclear reactors, and the like. Instead, solar cell technology will receive about as much money all next year as the reactor program spends every *day.*

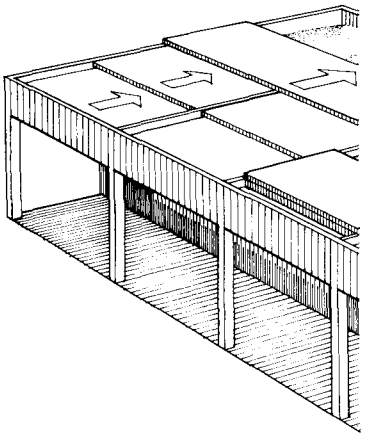
But there's no reason to wait for the solar cell in order to start using the sun to provide energy in the form we most instinctively turn to it for: warmth. Most homes and other buildings built in this country today are constructed as if to spite the weather outside. They require heating on even the sunniest winter day and cooling during most of the summer, due mainly to poor design. A number of modern office buildings lack even that miraculous energy-saving device, the window that opens. New York's World Trade Center, built with permanently closed windows, is heated with lights that cannot be turned off; in the summer its air conditioners must work *against* the lights.

Americans use more energy for room and water heating than they do to power their automobiles. With a serious commitment to the solar/conservation energy strategy, *most* of this demand could be permanently eliminated within a few years. The first step in such a program would be to reinsulate old homes and revamp building codes for new homes to cut the need for heating and cooling energy. According to a recent study published by the American Institute of Architects, a program of improving the design of new buildings and refitting old buildings with better insulation could cut energy consumption by 25 percent in older buildings and by 50 percent in newly-designed buildings. Improvements would include better insulation, storm windows and doors, and windows that make the best use of the sun's warmth in the winter while not making the building too hot in the summer.

These figures alone are impressive, but just building to use the sun rather than to fight it is not quite enough. By using simple solar heat collecting technology, combined with insulation, we can cut energy consumption in older buildings by 50 percent and in new buildings by 80 percent.

The main component of this technology is the solar collector, a glass-covered pan of water that sits on the roof of a house. The collector works on two very simple principles. Think how hot it can get standing behind a sunlit window on even the coldest winter's day from the radiant heat of the sun. Then think of how a swimming pool or a lake remains warm even after the sun has set if it has been sufficiently heated by the sun during the day. These two principles explain how the flat-plate solar collector works. It is a six-foot by four-foot flat pan or a system of pipes painted black (to absorb as much heat as possible) covered by a sheet of glass and some insulating material. Place it on your roof facing south on a sunny, or even a hazy day, and run some water (or other fluid) through it. In a very short time the fluid will become remarkably hot. Run the hot fluid into your hot water heater and/or your room heating system and provide a well-insulated tank to store the fluid

How It Works



PASSIVE SYSTEM

The diagram on the right shows the workings of a simple space- an water-heating system such as that used by Harry Thomason 15 yea ago in his home near Washington, D.C. Although more complex an efficient systems have been devised since then, the principles a basic: water is pumped from the storage tank under the hous which is surrounded by stones, up to the peak of the roof; it the flows down through the solar absorption panels where it absort heat (the temperatures sometimes approach the boiling point); th water finally runs off into a trough, passes through a pipe, an collects in the hot water tank which provides hot water for bat and other domestic uses; excess water travels from this tank into th stone-surrounded tank.

The house is heated by blowing air over the hot stones an through ducts. The water circulates continually as long as the sun shining; during cloudy periods of up to four or five days the wat will stay hot in the insulated tank. Of course flat-plate collector such as the ones used here, will absorb heat even on cloudy day but at a reduced rate. Even on overcast days, infra-red (heat) ray may be intense—as those who have been sunburned at the beach o cloudy days may attest. This type of system could be installed fairl easily in almost any house.

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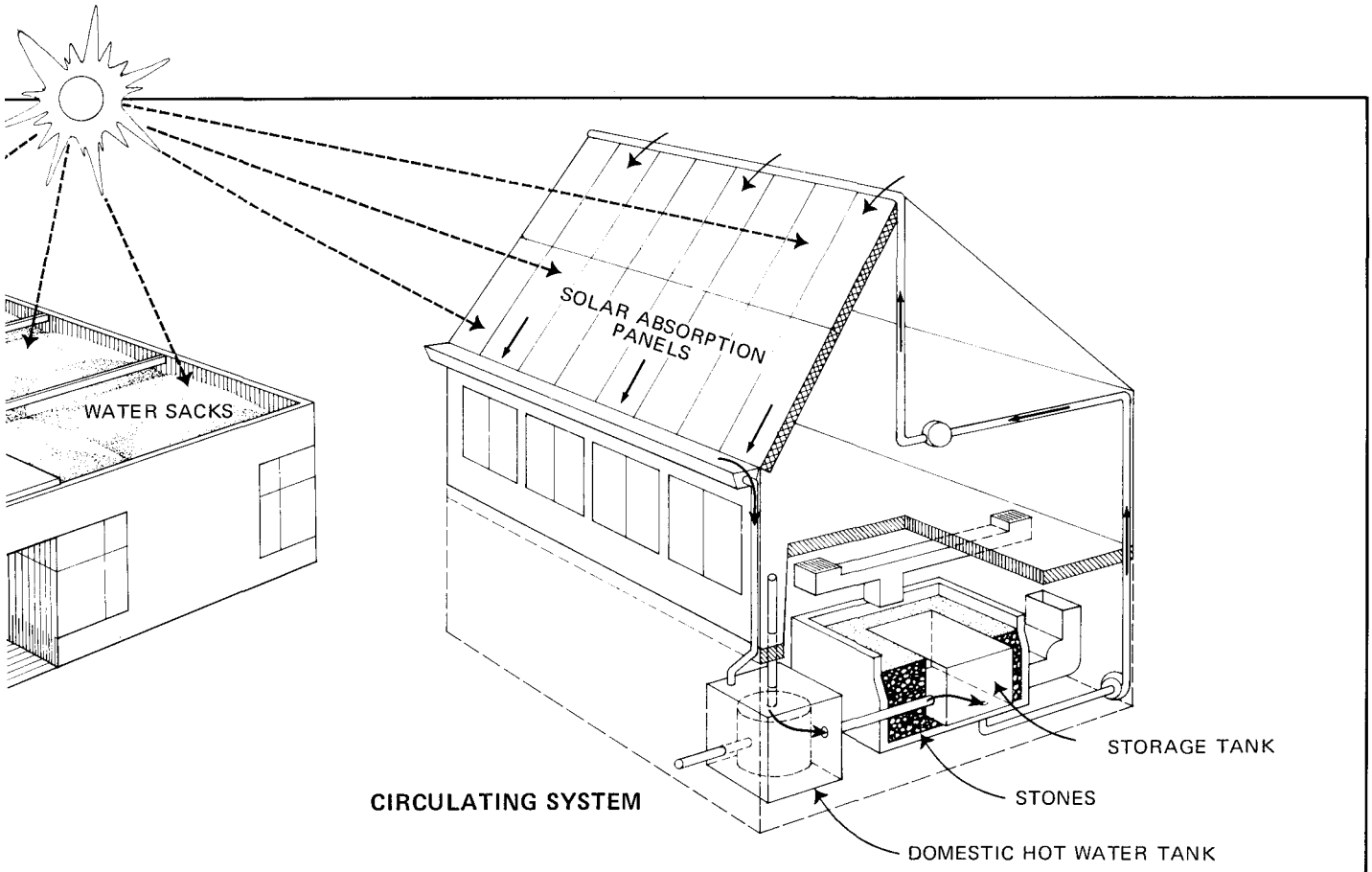

CIRCULATING SYSTEM

On the other hand, the "passive" systems (passive because they do not require the movement of water) call for specially designed homes strong enough to support a heavy black vinyl bag of water on the roof, and well insulated enough to fully take advantage of the type of heating the system offers. Harold Hay's house near Los Angeles (see left-hand diagram) uses a large bag of water which may be covered or exposed to the air by a sliding, insulated roof-top. For heating during the winter, the sack of water is exposed to the sun during the day; heat accumulated in the water is radiated into the house; at night the sliding roof-top is shut and the sack continues to radiate heat through the night.

For cooling in the summer the process is reversed: the sliding roof is kept shut during the day and opened during the night. The mass of water, having absorbed daytime heat from the house, will radiate it into the night sky. Because it is radiating heat, not simply conducting it, the temperature of the water in the sack will be *lower* than the surrounding air. The water bag can be cooled even further by evaporation if ordinary tap water is run over its surface.

A system such as this can be very efficient and comfortable if the house in which it is used is well insulated. With additional research, it could probably be used in climates colder than that of the Southwest.

Drawings by Roland Hower

for use at night and on cloudy days. There are many permutations and variations on this scheme but that, essentially, is all there is to it (see above).

In many areas you will need a conventional back-up system to provide heat during long periods of bad weather (more than 2 or 3 sunless days in a row). But in most parts of the country, an array of solar collecting units will meet *most* of a family's energy needs–including hot water, room heating, and air conditioning (which constitute about 75 percent of a household's energy needs). Here is how such a system could work:

• **Water Heating**: This is the simplest use of the solar collector. You run the water directly through the collector and then divert it into an insulated storage tank (though you will want a storage tank larger than your present hot water heater). Or you may prefer a "closed system," in which the collector fluid runs out of the collector, passes through a heat coil in a water-heating tank (which heats the water in the tank by convection) and then goes back up into the collector. According to Dr. Donald Aiken of California State University at San Jose, a solar water heater can be added to a home for about $500–a one-time expense.

• **Room Heating**: The principle is the same as the solar water heater. The collector could be used to provide hot water for steam heating. Or air could be blown over the coils heated by the collector as in a standard hot air furnace. In the Ward house in Davis, a third system is used: water from the collector is run under the cement floor of the house and heat radiates through the floor.

There are other solar heating systems. Dr. George Lof of Denver, Colorado, has been living in a solar-heated house for 15 years, in which air is heated directly by passing it through the collectors. Another variation is the "passive" solar heating and cooling system used by Harold Hay in his house in Atascadero, California, and by Jonathan Hammond in his own home in Davis, and a home he is presently building in Winters, California. A passive system uses a mass of water, placed either along the south wall of the house or

(Continued on page 55)

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Breaking the Mideast Deadlock

I. The Plan

"Israel assumes that retaining the territorial status quo is its optimal strategy, that only the necessary minimum should be surrendered at any given stage. But this is precisely the policy that led Israel to near disaster in the October war."

To solve the conflict in the Middle East means to bring about a state of affairs that no side will be interested in challenging by force.

A solution may be proposed as reflecting the actual balance of power between the conflicting parties. Alternatively, a plan may be offered as a good approximation of what is taken to be a "just" solution. A just solution is, e.g., one that seems reasonable and fair to an impartial observer who empathizes with the claims of both sides and who is interested in the well-being of both.

I take *opportunism* to be the acceptance of a solution solely because it reflects the actual power structure of the conflicting parties. This position also implies recognizing any change in the balance of power as a justification for changing the agreed-upon arrangements. *Realism,* I believe, consists in the imperative that a solution be *both* opportune and just. A future change in the balance of power in itself does not justify challenging a settlement already arranged; while the fact of the balance of power must be taken into account if a solution is to be at all attainable.

I consider the following an outline of a realistic solution to the Middle East conflict: Israeli withdrawal from the territories occupied in 1967; demilitarization of Sinai and the Golan Heights; recognition of Israel by the Arab states—and the Palestinians; Israeli recognition of a Palestinian state in the so-called West Bank and in the Gaza Strip; and finally, a municipally united Jerusalem, as capital to both states. This solution will be referred to as the Two State Solution.

[THE GENEVA VS. THE STEP-BY-STEP APPROACHES]

THE DOMINANT CONTROVERSY among Israelis today concerns which is preferable, a "step-by-step" solution or going to the conference table at Geneva to negotiate an entire solution at once. This might appear to be a debate about tactics; it is in truth a debate about the goals themselves.

It is clear to the Israelis that if there is any chance for an agreement with the Arabs, it will have to be more or less along the lines of the Two State Solution outlined above. It is not at all clear that this will satisfy the Arabs, but it cannot be doubted that they will not settle for less.

Thus, some might wish to go to Geneva in order to undermine once and for all the Two State Solution: this in fact is what the Israeli right wingers are after. Some might wish, on the other hand, to go to Geneva to *achieve* the Two State Solution: this is true of several elements in the

Palestinian

Jack Madvo/UNWRA

by Avishai Margalit

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Israeli Left.

There is also a third alternative. It consists of the wish not to go to Geneva at all, and so to evade the Two State Solution altogether: this is what the Israeli government's policy is all about. The Israeli government is held back by the prospect of having to bear the responsibility for, and face the consequences of, the failure of the Geneva talks should they break down.

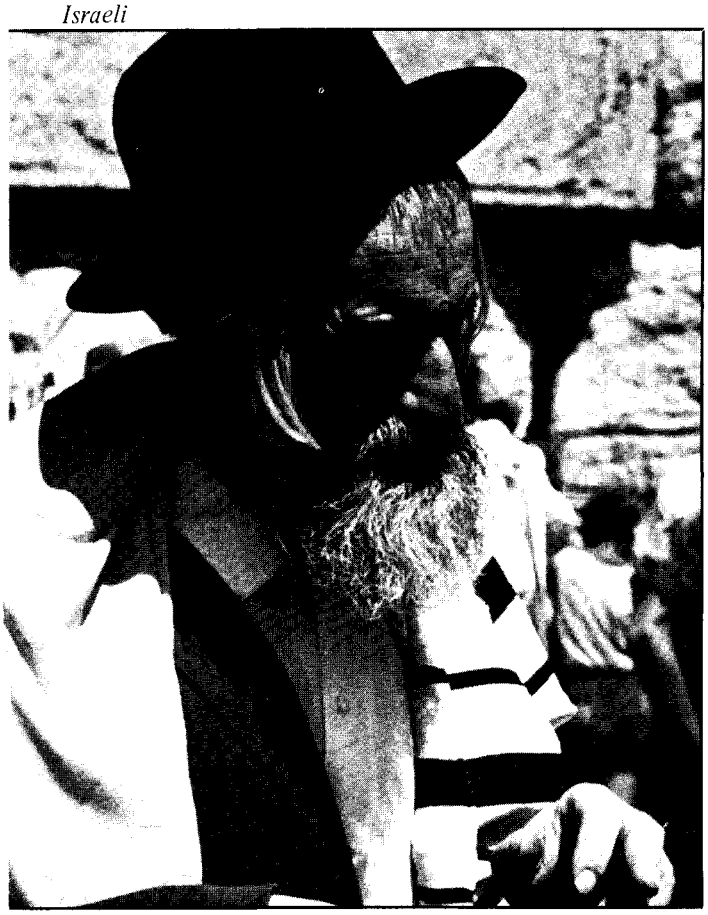
[THE OFFICIAL ISRAELI POSITION]

THERE ARE DISAGREEMENTS WITHIN the Israeli cabinet. Outwardly, however, it speaks with one voice only: it unequivocally favors Kissinger's step-by-step approach. The main reason for this preference is to "gain time." This in effect was the reason cited by Israel's Premier Rabin when he spoke of the "seven lean years" awaiting Israel. In reality, the need to "gain time" is based on some, or all, of the following assumptions:

1. *It is assumed that* the effectiveness of oil as a weapon, which now looms large among the Arabs' bargaining positions, will fade away in the next few years, mainly as a result of discovering and developing alternative sources of energy. This will lead to relative European independence—and to complete American independence—from Arab oil, and consequently to the weakening of the Arabs' bargaining position in future negotiations.

Comment: It is possible that the importance of oil as a political weapon will indeed decrease with time. The time involved, however, might be too long for Israel to be able to struggle through. England might significantly reduce her dependence on oil (due to the North Sea fields) in five to seven years; not so France, West Germany, Italy and Japan.

Israeli



Dr. K. Meyerowitz/Israeli Consulate

There is another side to the coin. The weapon of oil will likely be cashed into weaponry proper. That is, the Arab oil-producing countries are going to purchase—in fact have already begun to do so—huge amounts of armaments. They will do so because, for one thing, they see nothing better to do with their petrodollars: serious investment in economic development goes against many of their rulers' interests owing to the changes in traditional social structures such investments would produce. Also, the "confrontation states," notably Egypt, will undoubtedly exert considerable pressure on the oil-producing countries to purchase ever-growing quantities of arms. Regardless of who purchases them, these arms are bound to surface against Israel if the conflict is prolonged. It is not at all clear how Israel can afford to match such a massive and effectively costless Arab military build-up.

2. *It is assumed that* the U.S. is currently plagued by isolationist tendencies. Political commitments by the U.S. to foreign countries are, in the post-Vietnam era, extremely unpopular. There is at present no President to speak of—at any rate not a strong one. It is therefore worthwhile to wait until 1976 in the hope that by then America will have a strong President—like Henry Jackson. A strong President, who will be capable of seriously considering a military intervention against the oil-producing countries, and of taking a tough position toward the USSR—so the argument goes—is likely to strengthen Israel's bargaining position considerably.

Comment: The Israelis have always felt that the office of the presidency of the U.S. is much too important to be left to the Americans. A "strong" American President who is less vulnerable domestically could be much tougher in pressuring Israel if it seemed to be in his interest. (Such a "strong" President could be, e.g., Edward Kennedy.) The present American administration is, in fact, as favorable to Israel as the Israelis might wish. The gamble on Jackson might prove dangerous, especially if he is not elected.

3. *It is assumed that* if Israel persists in maintaining an uncompromising, negative position concerning negotiations with the Palestine Liberation Organization, there may come about a change in the Arab world which might reverse the Rabat resolution (recognizing the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people) and revert to King Hussein as spokesman for the Palestinians at negotiations.

Comment: This, in my view, is the most mistaken—as well as the most dangerous—assumption. The Rabat resolution is irreversible. Moreover, it gathered considerable momentum with the UN recognition of the PLO. Israel simply has to face the fact that Hussein does not represent the Palestinian people. The idea of reverting to Hussein is, in my opinion, a consequence of the shortsightedness of a *realpolitik* which sees the conflict as one between governments, completely ignoring the historical perspective which tells us that it is in truth a conflict between two nations.

4. *It is assumed that* the present government of Israel cannot make significant concessions to the Arabs and still remain in power: it is too weak. Going to Geneva with the aim of achieving an agreement requires the ability to make such concessions; a succession of interim agreements does not. The alternative to a piecemeal solution negotiated by the present government is a government of the Right which

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will plunge Israel into an immediate war. Thus, one of the functions of the step-by-step option is to buy time to enable the present government to establish the authority it needs for making future concessions. This argument is voiced by people from the Labor party, the dominant faction in the present government.

Comment: There is much truth in this argument. The trouble with it is, however, that it is a self-fulfilling prophecy. That is, the weakness of the government is partly due to its lack of an unequivocal and firm stand regarding a resolution of the conflict. Rabin's fear of new elections is a major source of his weakness. It seems to me that there is, in Israel, a yearning for a government which has a clear sense of its aims. If Rabin's government firmly backed the Two State Solution, I believe that it would stand a fair chance of carrying the majority.

5. *It is assumed that* the Arab unity achieved during the October war is temporary. It is bound to disintegrate sooner or later because of inherent conflicts of interest among the Arab countries themselves. It is in Israel's interest to hold out until that happens. This process might be accelerated if Syria can be neutralized once a separate deal is made with the Egyptians. Also, and more importantly perhaps, this policy will weaken the USSR's position in the area because it will expose the Russians as a power capable of supplying arms for war but in no position to impose, or to help bring about, peace.

Comment: There is no evidence that this Arab unity is temporary. On the contrary, it can be argued that in a future war it might even be more effective. After all, the oil embargo was imposed by the oil countries—led by Saudi Arabia—only at the *end* of the October war; next time they might well rally from the start. Besides, it is, in my judgment, a grave mistake to hope for Egypt to detach itself irrevocably from Syria, or even from the Palestinians. The price Israel might appear to be willing to pay to get Egypt out of the conflict will only constitute a constant invitation for more Egyptian pressures on Israel.

6. *It is assumed that* the American interest, as represented by Kissinger or Ford, is against going to Geneva and in favor of the step-by-step approach. This is explained by the U.S. desire to keep the USSR out of the scene and to impose a prestigious *Pax Americana.* Hence, Israel's policy in support of the piecemeal approach will ensure the continuation of the American military and economic aid which Israel cannot afford to risk losing.

Comment: This argument is true as far as American support of Israel is concerned. At the same time it is a mistake to believe the Russians will sit doing nothing.

U.S. policy is based on demonstrating to the Arabs that although the USSR can supply them with weapons, it cannot regain lost territories for them. The USSR wants to demonstrate that the opposite is the case. The way to do this is in Geneva with the Americans. What they must prove is that to be a client of the USSR is as good as being the client of the U.S. If the U.S. tries to act alone, the Russians will do their best to curb the Americans' efforts. They may do it through the Syrians and the Palestinians, or through helping Qadaffi-like colonels in Saudi Arabia to topple Faisal. In any case, they would try their best to prevent a *Pax Americana.*

7. *It is assumed that* a failure of any one of the steps in the step-by-step approach would still leave open the option of going to Geneva. A breakdown at Geneva, by contrast, would leave open only the option of war. And since there is at present no guarantee of American acquiescence in the case of an Israeli preemptive strike, or any strike for that matter, it is essential to play it safe.

Comment: True. And yet, going to Geneva should, I believe, be taken as a calculated risk rather than as a risky calculation.

8. *It is assumed that* retaining the territorial *status quo* is, at any given time, the optimal strategy for Israel. Now, since present circumstances preclude an *absolute* stalemate, only the necessary minimum should be given up at any given stage, while the rest of the territories are firmly held.

Comment: This is precisely the policy that led Israel to a near disaster in the October war.

[THE WISHFUL-THINKING SCENARIO]

WHAT, THEN, IS THE FAVORED scenario of the Israeli leadership?

Stage I. Negotiations with Egypt. Israel evacuates the strategic passes in the Sinai (Mitla and Giddi) as well as the Abu-Rudeis oil fields, which now supply about 55 percent of Israel's oil. In return, the evacuated areas are demilitarized and Israel is given American guarantees to help supply and finance its oil from alternative sources (most likely from Iran).

Israel's primary demand from the Egyptians is for a declaration of non-belligerency. It is conceivable, however, that if Egypt will *not* comply, Israel will settle for some revised version of the old armistice agreements which existed between Israel and its neighbors from 1948 to 1967. In Israel such an agreement can be presented as tantamount to the desired non-belligerency declaration, while the very existence of a precedent to such an agreement between the two countries might facilitate Egypt's acceptance of it. Such an armistice agreement would probably contain clauses stipulating the steps to be taken for the continuation of negotiations. It is also hoped that Egypt will tacitly agree not to tie such an agreement at this stage with concrete concessions to Syria and the Palestinians, and that a vague reference to future negotiations with them will suffice.

Stage II. Negotiations with Jordan concerning the mutual borders in the north and south (e.g., Akaba) rather than the West Bank. The idea is that by agreeing on several symbolic acts, Israel and Jordan will demonstrate to the world—and to the Palestinian inhabitants of the West Bank—that they can talk and reach agreements, whereas no such feat can be expected in dealing with the PLO. This accords well with the interests of both Jordan and Israel, since, so the argument goes, it will eventually induce the world, as well as the West Bank Palestinians, to turn to Hussein as Israel's partner in negotiating the future of the West Bank.

Stage III. An attempt to negotiate with Syria (which might be simultaneous with Stage II). Here the idea is to be willing to agree to some token continuation of the

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process of disengagement of forces—perhaps the evacuation of a settlement from the Golan Heights, the evacuated area passing on to the UN, rather than to Syria—just so that the Syrians would be satisfied that the process of Israeli withdrawal from the Golan is moving forward.

Suppose that this scenario materializes. What is its ultimate goal? Besides several territorial principles Israel considers essential, the overriding consideration is to prevent the creation of a Palestinian state—especially if it involved dealing with the PLO. In my view, the Israeli leadership wants desperately to circumvent the Palestinian issue at almost any cost. It is willing to make concessions to Egypt (and to a certain extent, to Syria) which I consider excessive, if what they seek in return is the severance of Egypt, and possibly Syria, from the Palestinian issue.

The objection to a Palestinian state is the main reason for the rejection of the Two State Solution by the Israeli government. The other ingredients of this solution, namely the withdrawal from Sinai, and even from parts of the Golan Heights, encounter much less opposition both in the government and from the right wing. In my view, this policy is contrary to all "logic of security": clearly, to the extent that Israel is endangered, it is by the armies of Egypt and Syria, not by a prospective Palestinian state.

Let me proceed now to examine the Israeli objections first to the creation of a Palestinian state and then to any form of dialogue with the PLO.

[WHY NOT A PALESTINIAN STATE?]

THE STANDARD ARGUMENTS IN ISRAEL against the creation of a Palestinian state alongside its eastern borders can be outlined as follows:

1. *It is argued that* the ultimate aim of the Arabs is—and always has been—the annihilation of the State of Israel. The creation of a Palestinian state in the West Bank area is one significant step in the direction of achieving this goal. The Palestinian people will not be satisfied with a state as conceived along the lines of the Two State Solution; their state will be committed to "reconquest" almost by definition.

Comment: It is an historical irony that the fear of "piecemeal conquest" was the standard Arab argument against the various partition plans for Palestine proposed prior to the creation of the state of Israel. It was contended that the Jews accepted these plans only because they furthered their long-term scheme of taking over the whole of Palestine, if not the whole of the Middle East.

As for the Arab aim of annihilating Israel, I propose to distinguish here between *willing,* as accompanied by a commitment to act, and *wishing,* which is not accompanied by a commitment to act. I believe it is incumbent upon Israel to make sure that there be at most a wish, not a will, on the part of the Arabs in general, and of the Palestinians in particular, to see Israel destroyed. I think that the creation of a Palestinian state can be instrumental here.

I am not convinced that this state will necessarily be irredentist. The desperate nature of the Palestinian struggle stems largely from the simple fact that they have nothing to lose.

2. *It is argued that* even if the majority of the Palestinians accept the idea of a Palestinian state as contained in the Two State Solution, there will always remain some factions (such as the PFLP) which will continue to oppose it and to launch terrorist activities against Israel. Israel will then retaliate; the same old story will continue.

Comment: Among the Jewish community in former Palestine, too, there were movements which opposed the UN resolution concerning the partition of Eretz Israel. However, once the State was declared, everyone went out dancing in the streets, and all pockets of resistance soon melted away. There is no guarantee, of course, that this is what will happen in the case of the Palestinians, but I think it is quite probable that a similar process would take place. At any rate, this is, in my view, a risk that Israel simply has to take.

3. *It is argued that* a Palestinian state is bound to be under strong Soviet influence. This will mean the introduction of sophisticated weapons systems, including missile sites, at locations where Israel, and especially its air force, cannot afford to have them.

Comment: It is far from certain, I believe, that the Palestinian state would be Soviet-dominated. It is at least as likely that it would depend economically on the oil-rich Arab countries, and that they would exert considerable pressure on it to force Soviet influence out.

In any case, a clear-cut clause in the Israeli-Palestinian covenant should stipulate that any introduction of foreign troops (including Soviet "volunteers") is an unequivocal *casus belli.*

[WHY NOT TALK WITH THE PLO?]

THERE IS NO DOUBT IN MY MIND that Israel is right in its refusal to talk to the PLO *on the basis of its present declared policy.* No Israeli Jew in his right mind is willing to give up Israel itself and replace it with an Arab state encompassing all of Palestine, which is what is currently envisioned in the PLO program. The fact that the PLO promises it would be a democratic state leaves the Israelis cold, and rightly so. (The Rightists of the "Greater Israel" movement make similar promises to the Arabs who would inhabit the expanded Israel of their dreams.)

The declared policy of the PLO is, I submit, the exact counterpart of the Israeli expansionist right wing. The PLO policy promises full citizenship rights to the Jews who would find themselves in an Arab state; the Israeli expansionists promise full citizenship rights to the Arabs of the greater Jewish state. Each side assures its own followers, with a wink of the eye, that the "demographic problem" will somehow be resolved.

What is at issue, therefore, is not a dialogue with the PLO on the basis of its declared policy, but rather a dialogue with it on the basis of various hints and indications to the effect that the PLO would in fact be willing to consider something like the Two State Solution. Several experts, both in government circles and out, contend that there *isn't* any chance that the PLO will reverse its publicly declared policies. "They mean what they say, and what they say is what we heard from Arafat at the UN."

It may be so. However, if this is indeed the case, then

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it is all the more reason for Israel to take the initiative towards a solution along the lines of the Two State Solution. If it were accepted by the PLO—well and good. If it were not, then the most Israel stands to lose is its bad reputation.

A sound procedure for reconvening the Geneva conference might, in the light of the above remarks, involve an appeal to both Israel and the Palestinians to accept the two pertinent UN resolutions: Resolution 242, which recognizes the right of Israel to exist, and the recent amendment which calls for the creation of a Palestinian state. These resolutions have been supported by a majority of UN members, including the Arab states. Israel, however, did not accept the resolution regarding the Palestinian state, while the PLO refuses to accept Resolution 242 in its entirety. Thus, the suggested appeal is truly directed to both sides, and compliance with it—which is no simple matter for either side—could serve as a basis for the negotiations.

The almost standard Israeli retort, that the PLO might recognize Israel for tactical purposes only, and that the value of such a recognition is merely nominal, can, it seems to me, persuade only the persuaded. Concessions of symbolic value are at least as hard for the PLO to make as are those of substantial content. If they will say out loud that they recognize the state of Israel, that should count as a good piece of evidence that in reality they do.

One more thing. Many Israelis have always felt that the real partner for the crucial negotiations on the Mideast conflict is the U.S. and not the Arabs, let alone the PLO. Ben Gurion's dream of a defense treaty with the U.S.—unexpectedly resurrected in recent days—is regarded as a substitute for a treaty with the Arabs, which many Israelis consider worthless anyway.

The assumption behind this line of thought is that such a treaty—which would include a massive "Marshall Plan" and lend-lease arms arrangements—would constitute a golden opportunity for the Egyptians to opt out of the conflict, their excuse being that they can fight Israel but not the U.S.A. As for Israel, it is recognized that such a treaty, more than anything else, will induce it to make significant territorial concessions.

But American intervention to rescue Israel has nothing to do with a signed treaty; it hinges on American interests. In 1957, John Foster Dulles sent a "letter of understanding" to the Israeli government promising to keep open the Straits of Tiran to Israeli cargo. When Nasser blocked the Strait in 1957 the Americans said that "they couldn't find the letter." That is what "understandings" are worth. To Americans, Israel is strong partly because it does not request U.S. troops in time of crisis. "You send us weapons, we shall do the job," is the Israeli motto. A treaty would be understood as a commitment to send American soldiers. Americans would resent such a treaty, and it would weaken Israel.

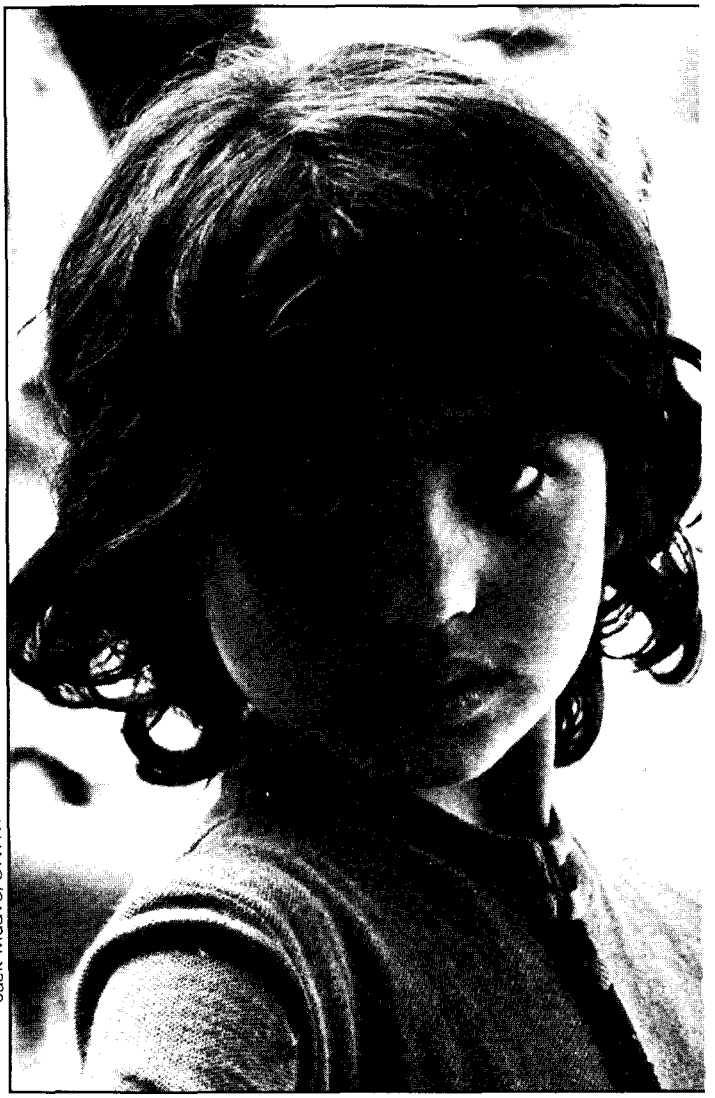
[FROM SETTLEMENT TO RECONCILIATION]

ISRAEL'S UNWILLINGNESS TO recognize the Palestinians and the Palestinians' unwillingness to recognize Israel are both largely fed by the reciprocal feeling that to recognize the other somehow detracts from one's own legitimacy. Both sides have rightful claims. Both have an equal claim to the whole of Eretz Israel (or Palestine). The solution therefore must consist of a partition. It must be a partition because the conflict is in its form and essence *national,* and thus must be solved in terms of a national conflict, i.e., in terms of the right to self-determination. By the right to self-determination, I mean the need to separate conflicting nations, and the right of each nation to live its own life without submission to the other. This means that Israel has no right to determine how the Palestinians should lead their lives. And the Palestinians have no right to "liberate" Israel from Zionism. A solution to the national problem is the first condition for the dissolution of the national problem.

It is perhaps ironic to be reminded today that it was none other than David Ben Gurion who back in 1937 spoke of a socialist federation of the area's nations, which would in time bring about the dissolution of the area's separate nation-states (see Ben Gurion's memoirs, Vol. IV, Am Oved, 1975). It is this ultimate vision which should be the guiding light for any interim solution which will do justice to the present and to the future.

Avishai Margalit, a co-founder of the Israeli political party Moked, *is a Senior Lecturer of philosophy at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He is currently teaching at Harvard University.*

Palestinian



Jack Madvo/UNRW

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Breaking the Mideast Deadlock

II. The Prospects

"The impasse between Israel and the Palestinians is complete. Palesinians support the PLO, which offers no program Israel could possibly accept. Israel, in turn, refuses to deal with the PLO. And under the occupation, Palestinian political expression has been carefully controlled or suppressed."

Israeli

Stephen Shames

The "game of nations" in the Middle East has many players, and most of them see the stakes as very high. So high, in fact, that they will accept virtually any risk to attain their national goals. This is true of the two nations whose local conflict serves as the focal point for a complex network of interests and antagonisms, Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs, each claiming national rights in a single territory. It is no less true of the imperial states. The major oil producers can hardly remain aloof from the local conflict, whatever the private preferences of their ruling groups. Consequently, the structure of power in the industrial world is sure to be affected, and may even be determined, by the outcome of the conflict.

It is a simple matter to sketch a "scenario" that ends with the destruction of the local contestants or even with the century's third and final World War. The "confrontation states," Egypt and Syria (with Jordan a reluctant partner), realizing that their occupied territories will not be regained through negotiation and political accommodation, may move towards war as their only option, particularly under conditions of domestic unrest. In a state of heightened tension, Israel might strike, sensing that the issue is survival. The pattern of October 1973 is not likely to recur. The government of Israel, isolated internationally and facing a worsening power balance, may find itself unable to sustain an arms race against an adversary of unlimited wealth. Under such circumstances, a pre-emptive strike may seem the only reasonable move, whatever the consequences.

To cast a wider net, consider the interests of the United States. A fundamental principle of American policy is that the incomparable energy reserves of the Middle East must be under the control of the United States and its international oil companies, or at the very least, that its industrial competitors not gain privileged access to these reserves.

by Noam Chomsky

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With only a slight exaggeration, one might take this principle to be axiomatic. The United States will tolerate the kind of formal "nationalization" that leaves processing and distribution in the hands of U.S.-based energy companies, but is hardly likely to accept steps that seriously challenge these arrangements. The threat of military intervention is, no doubt, intended as a mild warning to this effect.

Significant Russian penetration of the oil producing regions would almost certainly lead to general war, but quite apart from this remote eventuality, the United States is not likely to permit a new relationship between the oil producers and other capitalist industrial societies on a scale that would challenge American global hegemony. Since World War II, a primary goal of U.S. foreign policy has been to ensure that Western Europe and Japan remain under its effective domination. This global system would be seriously threatened by significant bilateral arrangements between the state capitalist industrial societies and the oil producing states. In the aftermath of the October war, tentative steps in this direction were opposed by the United States, which insisted on a "united front" under its control. Furthermore, the U.S. government will try to ensure that the American-based energy companies amass sufficient profits in the latter stages of the petroleum-based economy so that they will dominate the next phase (coal, nuclear energy) as well.

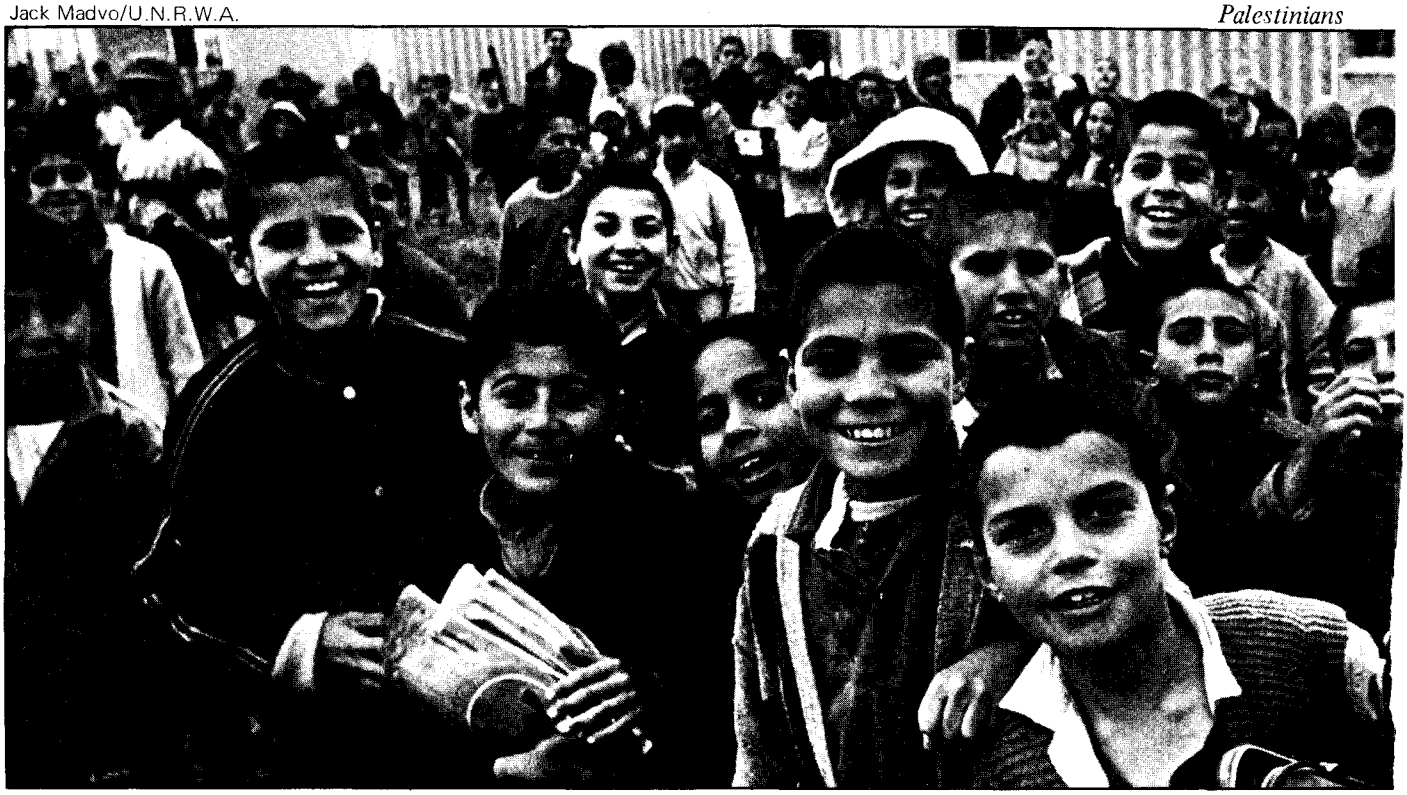
[STATUS QUO SCENARIO]

Suppose, then, that Saudi Arabia, which is the centerpiece of the drama, were to pressure the United States to compel Israel to withdraw from the occupied territories. If the pressure were serious, the United States would have two choices: to yield, or to take control of some significant part of the Arabian oil reserves by force, a risky move with unpredictable consequences. The United States has no standing commitment to Israeli occupation of the territories. Support for virtual annexation was a temporary policy, instituted seriously when Kissinger took control of Middle Eastern affairs in 1970, but abandoned as a guiding principle when the October war demonstrated the falsity of its major premise—that Israel's power in the region was beyond short-range challenge. At that point, with his policy in ruins, Kissinger naturally began to consider again the abandoned Rogers Plan. If there is serious pressure from the oil producers, it is likely that the U.S. would pressure Israel to withdraw, as in 1956.

How would Israel respond? That depends on the nature of the American pressure. Since 1967 Israel has adopted policies leading, quite predictably, to international isolation and total dependence on the United States, a dangerous gamble for a small power. It is in no position to resist American orders. If the American position were strong and clear, Israel would be forced to comply. But there is likely to be a measure of disunity within the American government on the matter, and recognizing this, Israel might move to cement the American alliance, on which it now depends for survival, in quite a different way. A successful Israeli military strike might provoke the Soviet Union, and even hesitant moves or warnings on its part will bring U.S. intervention in force, given "axiom one of world politics" as just outlined. An Arab oil embargo or production cutback might have the very same result; an Israeli pre-emptive strike might even lead to direct invasion of the oil-producing regions to prevent or reverse such moves. In either case, Israel would have succeeded in restoring the American alliance—to be sure, at the risk of nuclear war. So the government of Israel might reason, faced with the alternative of withdrawal to the 1967 borders.

None of these possibilities is unlikely. Each carries the risk of destruction for Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs—and if they cannot live together, then they will be destroyed together, given the context of their local conflict. The possibility of a general war is not small. As long as Israel occupies the territories taken in 1967, these and

Jack Madvo/U.N.R.W.A. *Palestinians*



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other related prospects will never be remote.

For the moment, the Arab oil producers are not pressuring the United States to compel Israeli withdrawal. The rulers of these states have an indirect stake in Israeli power, which stands as a barrier to Russian influence and to a potentially disruptive radical Arab nationalism, though at the same time the Israeli occupation of the territories contributes to both of these undesired consequences. The interstate relations are thus complex. Saudi Arabia is no less hostile to Iran, but is satisfied to have Iranian forces engaged in counter-insurgency on its borders in Dhofar. Its relation to Israel is in some ways similar. Saudi Arabia made no effort to use its immense potential power to dislodge Israel from the occupied territories, through the medium of the United States, prior to the October war. And even in October 1973 it delayed 11 days before agreeing to join in anti-U.S. measures. At that point it could hardly refrain, short of abandoning any claim to represent the forces of Arab nationalism, taking whatever consequences this might entail for radicalization of the Arab world. Saudi Arabia would prefer to remain an American client state and will take no initiative to threaten American power unless compelled to do so by forces that it cannot control, as in October.

Thus it is possible to imagine that the current Israeli-American policy will succeed for some time. Under this policy, Israel will try to negotiate some kind of separation-of-forces agreement with Egypt, thus neutralizing its southern front, while intensifying efforts to incorporate the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and the Golan Heights within an expanded Israel. Possibly some form of home rule will be offered to the local Arab population. Israel would then be free to continue its military operations in southern Lebanon. Standing alone, Syria can only watch in silence. Oil prices will remain high, but for the United States this is not an unmitigated disaster. The U.S. is harmed far less than its industrial rivals, and it gains directly through the vastly increased profits of the American oil companies. As Michael Tanzer observes, "one key effect of the changes in the international oil industry is a drastic shift in economic power from Western Europe and Japan to the United States."[1]

True, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states will amass tremendous capital reserves, but as long as they remain American client states, the problem is no doubt manageable. Saudi Arabia may become the financier of global reaction, not unlike the Czar a century ago, or to take a closer analogy, like the United States after World War II. The decline in American global hegemony has compelled the United States to seek assistance in managing international society and repressing revolutionary nationalism in the vast areas that have not escaped its control. Other powers have sometimes been hesitant; witness the difficulties faced by the United States in arranging international support for the Saigon regime. But now the United States can impose a virtual tax on its reluctant allies by means of the price of petroleum. Saudi Arabia may become, in effect, a more manageable World Bank to which all powers must contribute; thus it will serve American imperial interests, which generally coincide with its own. Saudi Arabia has already granted the World Bank a loan of $750 million, by far the largest in the Bank's 25-year history.[2] It may also act directly under the American aegis.

Quite apart from this, a vast arms flow to the region and new investment opportunities partially offset the negative impact of oil prices on the U.S. economy. Russia understands very well the fundamental principles of American policy, and is unlikely to pose a serious threat to the U.S.-dominated system. Its primary concern is détente and management of its own imperial domains. No other outside power can pose a serious challenge to a *Pax Americana* in the region. Thus it is not inconceivable that the current order may remain for some period.

(Continued on page 58)

Israelis

Stephen Shames

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California Politics:

The Riddle of Governor Jerry Brown

The following is the first of a two-part series on the new Brown Administration in California. This installment centers on the unusual character of the Governor and his appointees. The second will assess the policies and programs, and their prospective significance for the state and the nation.

A note of perplexity, not to say exasperation, marks most of the daily reporting on California's new Governor, Edmund G. Brown, Jr.—"Jerry," nearly everyone calls him—and the rather unconventional state administration he is still putting together. Brown is typically referred to as "paradoxical," "enigmatic," a "complex young man." Some writers and commentators simply note that Brown is "an intellectual," as though that explained the elusiveness and singularity of his personality and temperament. Unkinder critics say that he is "inconsistent," that he "doesn't know his own mind," that he wants "to have things both ways" or that he hasn't yet decided where he wants his administration to go. The term "arrogant" appears frequently in connection with Brown and his appointees. More and more one hears the complaints that the Governor and the important members of his staff are inaccessible, that they keep their own counsel, and that therefore legislators, bureaucrats, and representatives of major groups do not know what the Administration has in mind, where it is going, what its priorities are. The Administration is not getting a good press. There is little affection in the legislature for it or for its leader. The lobbyists speak of Brown with loathing and one soon tires of their heavy-handed jokes about the youth, gender, and sexual proclivities of the men and women of his staff and Administration. The new governor is not having much of a honeymoon.

What is the problem? For one thing, the State of California is in trouble and there is doubt about just how much government, state or federal, can do about it. If California really is a kind of national barometer, the economic slide has a long way to go before it "bottoms out." That is a long and complex story and will be treated more fully later, but it does at least bear on those observations about the enigmatic and paradoxical character of the Brown Administration. In almost everything Brown has said and done to date, in his former public office, as candidate for Governor, and in his two months as Governor, he has signalled a commitment to reform, to movement, to significant change. That, in addition to the fact that he sponsored and fought for political financing reform, that he is the son of a former Democratic liberal governor, and that his associates and appointees have a decided leftward slant, has stereotyped Brown as a liberal Democrat. There is a stereotype of the liberal Democrat as social engineer, as advocate of active, interventionist government, who through prodigies of legislative enactment pumps money into the economy to help to right it and also to redistribute income, achieve racial justice, thwart the rich, help the poor and the sick, encourage education and the arts, put the unemployed to work through bold and inventive environment-protecting and enriching programs, and generally usher the people across new frontiers into the great society. All of these possibilities had been dammed up throughout the protracted and brutal lustrum of Reagan. Brown, the liberal Democrat, would surely open the floodgates; there would be a torrent of new legis-

by Francis Carney

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"The Governor's concern with fiscal responsibility receives a lot of attention, and I get rather bugged when it is compared to Reaganism . . . . Governor Reagan was not interested in economy, he was interested in screwing the poor."

–Paul Halvonik, Gov. Brown's Assistant for Legislative Affairs

lation, new agencies, action, money flowing into the economy through the hands of the poor, the sick, the unemployed, the elderly, the students; starved public services would be expanded and there would be much new construction, many more jobs. Wrong. That simply was not and is not Brown's way.

Instead he presented a hold-the-line budget which he personally worked over in immense, painstaking detail, so that he could call it his own budget. It allowed most departments of the government only modest increases over the previous year. Brown and his people boasted that it was the lowest annual budget increase in over fifteen years and that it was but half the average annual increase of the Reagan years. Only the resources protection areas received any spectacular increases and more than one liberal sacred cow was actually held to the budget figure of the prior year, or even below it. All of this was accompanied by a series of lectures, homilies, sermonettes, and pleas from Brown and some of his top hands about the need for prudence, for learning to do without things, for scaling down expectations, for a simpler and even spartan life-style, about the futility of–in what is becoming the most familiar phrase of the Brown administration–"trying to solve problems by throwing money at them," a phrase right-wing Republicans had made their own over a dozen years ago.

Brown dramatized this scarcely novel approach to government by setting an example in his own behavior and in the appropriations for his own office. Not only did he save the state several thousands of dollars a year by refusing to live in the new governor's mansion out in the suburbs, leasing instead, with his own funds, a modest enough apartment within walking distance of his capitol office, but he also cut the budget for his own office by seven percent, and within the limits allowed to him by the constitution and legislation, reduced the salaries of most of his aides. Finally, in an example easily understood by the average citizen, he spurned the traditional Cadillac or Lincoln for his official car and tucked himself instead into a plebeian Plymouth. From "old pros" in Sacramento, particularly from Democrats, there came in response to these gestures only a kind of winking, leering, snickering disbelief. From the lobbyists came only a new round of venomous jokes. Most of the daily press, to its credit, sensed that Brown was serious and that therein were some important clues to the character of his administration. Still, the reporting tended to stress the paradox of the liberal Democrat who opposed spending, who "sounds like Reagan," and taunted Brown with his own claim that his Republican opponent in last fall's election offered only "recycled Reaganism."

There are many intelligent liberals in the state legislature who believe that government has an obligation to tackle "social problems," to redress the badly balanced economy, to redistribute income, and generally to make the social order more equitable as well as more gentle and humane. Together with equally intelligent liberals and planners in the agencies, they believe that money must be and can be found to fashion legislative programs that give substance to such aims. Their frustration in the Reagan years was grievous and they really did think that a new administration, especially a Democratic one, would be like the melting of a glacier. Now Brown has told them that they cannot count on his support or sympathy for spending programs or for social engineering in the old-fashioned New Deal-Great Society mould. Naturally, then, there is some bitterness and sense of betrayal among liberal Democrats, many of whom, like well-known liberals Lt. Governor Dymally and San Francisco Assemblyman Willie Brown, have made moves to put distance between themselves and the Brown Administration.

[UNEXPECTEDLY DIFFERENT]

It must be said that Brown never really offered himself as another Democratic liberal in the Kennedy-Humphrey-LBJ tradition. He said often enough during the recent electoral campaign that he was no big spender, that he was fiscally cautious, and that there would be, initially at least, no new taxes proposed or accepted by him. He clearly suggested in the campaign that economic growth would have a lower priority than enhancement of the quality of life and the protection of the environment. He also said that his administration would ask new questions about our society and, he hoped, would produce new and different answers. He said that he would bring in entirely new and different people, including a generous representation of women, young people, and minorities to help raise the new questions and provide the new answers. He was spare with specific directions or programs, but he did stress

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that his would be a different kind of administration than many people expected. He did say that he was not aiming simply at a restoration of the pluralist liberal politics of his father. Thus far, Brown has followed through on most of these promises, raising the possibility that he might not be "enigmatic" or "complicated," but really rather straightforward. I do not mean to say that Brown is simple or simple-minded. I do think that the press, in stressing Brown's "complicatedness," may have missed the point. Brown is different and his administration is different. This unexpected difference has made him seem complicated. His failure to come up with specific new directions and particular programs makes him seem enigmatic and leaves the citizenry guessing about where his administration might be heading.

If Brown is unconventional or unorthodox, is it anything more than the prickliness or angularity of a rather diffident young intellectual, one given to quizzical and ironical stances? Can there be policy significance in Brown's unorthodoxy? Is he more than just a ruthless young opportunist with not terribly interesting ideas about fiscal responsibility and governmental restraint and a bent for rather tedious moralizing? Or might it be the case, as I think it is, that we have in Brown and his people our first and best clues to the possibilities of a post-New Deal, post-Vietnam, post-Watergate politics? Before discussing any political and governmental departures, let us look more closely at Brown himself and the people he has chosen to hold down the important posts in his administration. For even Brown and his lieutenants have to admit that at present there is no real record for us to judge, and that estimates of what the Brown Administration might do must rest on what one currently makes of its important people.

"Wherefore, if you would perfect others, be first perfect yourselves." Thus did St. Ignatius tell the young Jesuits at Coimbra that they must always seek to teach by example rather than be precept alone. This Ignatian stricture comes to mind because Brown has so earnestly sought to teach by example, and because it raises the question: how important were Brown's religious studies in the formation of the man who is now Governor? All of the appointees I interviewed agreed that the three and one-half years Brown spent in a Jesuit novitiate in his late 'teens was crucial in his subsequent development, that it simply must be understood that Brown is a Christian humanist, and that behind the cool and ironic stance lies a passionate attachment to his beliefs and principles. On the other hand, Jesuits I have talked with tend to discount the significance of his years in the novitiate. It takes 15 years to make a Jesuit, they note, and in accents of dismissal observe that Brown never got beyond the *juniorate* (four years) and that it is unlikely, therefore, that much of what he learned in novitiate really took. Common sense, and the testimony of people who know Brown well, tell me that the Jesuits are wrong about this, though there is no way at present to be certain.

Four years at a Jesuit novitiate is not like four years at prep school or away at college. It isn't even like four years in the U.S. armed forces. The Jesuit ideal is the attainment of the dissolved ego in love and service to God through service to mankind. Jesuit education is designed to approach this ideal. It is rigorous, absorptive, total, or at least it was 20 years ago when Brown entered upon his novitiate. Harsh physical labor, silence, solitude, severe intellectual and moral disciplines were the watchwords. It is almost inconceivable that a young man would not be deeply affected by such an experience. I believe that he was.

What follows is influenced mainly by what Brown's aides—men and women close to him in age, outlook, education, and who see him regularly—have observed about him and about themselves.

[SERVICE AND POWER]

Brown is not a "linear" thinker, as several of his aides have observed. When I asked if he were a dialectical thinker, they usually said no but that he is comfortable with dialectical modes of reasoning. He especially likes to "argue back and forth," arguing both sides of a particular subject for hours before coming to a decision. This means that he is perfectly willing to consider the extreme case as a plausible solution or answer rather than, in linear fashion, to consider the extreme only as a route to the mean. Brown aides insist that one consequence of this is that so long as he is in power, Brown will keep coming up with surprises, with the unorthodox, the unconventional, and even the extreme proposal. It also means that "truth" or the right decision will emerge from the process of reasoning. It will never come simply from adding up the data.

Brown believes in principle and in structures of principle or value. In this sense, he departs from the dialectical mode. Any decision, if it is right, ought to accord with principle; there ought to be a right and wrong in every case, so that in some ways his thinking process is one of bringing action into line with principle. In any case, Brown is not likely to make important decisions hastily; some might say that he is too slow, too cautious. This complaint will probably grow louder and louder from some of the regular constituencies of the Democratic Party as they wait in vain for legislative distribution of the loaves and fishes.

Brown is not a materialist, both in that he believes in the existence of a "reality" beyond that which the senses can verify, and in that material possessions do not hold much value for him. All the aides agree on this: money, "perks," luxury—these things have no appeal for Brown, nor do they for any of the people I interviewed. Brown's office in the Capitol is, indeed, spare and undecorated and he does work at a plain wooden table, obviously old and somewhat scarred. Brown apparently believes that in simplicity and spareness there is virtue, though in the elegance, even dandyishness of his dress, one detects the presence of a certain Byzantine strain. Brown is quite prepared to universalize his maxim and tell us all that we must learn to want less, not only because less is good for us, but because it is right. There is less to go round now than when our expectations were being formed, but very few people will like being told that they must learn to accept less of the things of this earth. In any case, it is probably true that Brown's vision of social justice does not include material equality; neither does it include great disparities in wealth or power.

Brown dislikes "Establishments" as much as he dislikes conventional wisdoms (though, distressingly, he does keep

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repeating that you "can't solve problems by throwing money at them). In discussing this with his aides it was not always clear just what "established" means. It seems to mean more than the military-industrial complex, more than Mills' old "power elite," more than "the power structure" of the Sixties, more than "capitalism." It seems to mean the entrenched, the big politicians, the "beautiful people," experts, insiders, the very rich, hustlers, and so on—admittedly not very precise or analytical. One hears such things about Brown and thinks of George Wallace. Is Brown a populist? Here one must stretch a bit, interpret, and perhaps risk overinterpretation. I think that Brown's feeling for the "people" comes through his dislike of establishments rather than the other way around. He is certainly not "of" the people, and there is not a bit of evidence to indicate that he is just plain folks, or one of the boys, or that he even likes being around the plain people. The Jesuits stress *service* to mankind rather than *love* of mankind. Is there a hint of *noblesse oblige* in this? Can it be said that there is something *priestly* in Brown's conception of his office to the people? I think the answer is yes, though Brown and his friends might object to it. However, cultural, institutional, constitutional constraints all operate, as do the personal preferences of Brown himself, to mitigate any paternalistic tendencies. I mention a partially priestly conception of office only to stress that Brown may truly think of office as duty rather than as opportunity for personal enhancement.

If there is anything really "jesuitical" about Brown, it is of what we might call the modern "Left" Jesuits, people like Teilhard de Chardin and Walter Ong, who stress the humanism of the Jesuit tradition and the importance of the ministry to humanity in this world, as it is found. That means that social justice must be a major goal. Where Brown would differ from the more familiar liberal meliorist might be in his own acceptance of the reality of evil as an essential part of the human condition and his tendency to doubt that material goods, equally shared, are the necessary foundation of the good society and the good life.

At 36, Brown is unmarried and still boyish and trim in appearance. In the 1974 primary campaign for governor, Joe Alioto liked to say, with a cunning leer, "When is Jerry Brown going to come out of the closet—and debate with me?" One can imagine tremors of horror running down certain kinds of bigoted spines: "My God, what have we come to? Not only Jesuitry but faggotry ensconced in high office. Abomination!" But Brown is not only "straight" in his own behavior; his views on marriage, sex and morals are, by the testimony of those who know him, not simply straight—they are dull, boring, middle-class, Irish-Catholic straight. I even get the sense that Brown would not mind such a characterization because he is so relentlessly opposed to the chic and the hip.

[THE OFFICIAL FAMILY]

If you doubt that Brown's commitments are to change in the here and now, you might look at the character of the administration he has begun to put together. Too little attention has been paid to this in the press. There has been plenty of comment on the youthfulness and lack of prior governmental experience of the Brown appointees. Much has also been made of the appointments of women and minorities to important positions, and Brown has been given credit for this. Some writers, notably Lee Fremstadt of the *Sacramento Bee,* have called attention to a loose "old boy" network in the administration, revolving around Yale Law School (Brown, Class of 1962), California Rural Legal Assistance (founded by EDD Director James Lorenz in 1966), and the San Francisco law firm, Public Advocates, Inc. (founded by J. Anthony Kline, also Yale Law School Class of 1962 and currently Legal Adviser to Governor Brown). Brown's team typically come from positions or experiences intensely opposed to established government and society. Almost without exception they come into government service with strong commitments to change as well as a deep skepticism about government itself. Several of them have spent years serving constituencies of outsiders: the needy, criminals, ethnic minorities, and environmentalists. I have interviewed most of the people briefly discussed below. I believe that they are not only typical, but the most important of the Brown appointees. Let us look first at the official cabinet:

• **Rose Elizabeth Bird, Secretary of Agriculture and Services** is 38, a friend of Brown's when both were at Berkeley in 1959. She is a graduate of Boalt Hall, the University of California/Berkeley law school, and before joining the Brown cabinet was Assistant Professor of Law at Stanford. Her specialty is criminal procedure and she spent several years working in the Office of Public Defender in Santa Clara County. Bird, like most of the other top people in this administration, will not make any big policy pronouncements at this time. She is earning a reputation as a very tough administrator able to say "no" to requests for funding even from the "good guys."

• **Donald E. Burns, Secretary of Business and Transportation** is 36, a friend of Brown's from Yale Law School, and also a Jesuit dropout. Rumpled and a little owlish, Burns is not typical of the male appointees, who run to the lean and keen look. He is also the appointee with whom the business sector would feel most comfortable. He repeats with emphasis most of Brown's strictures against spending and government expansion. But he considers himself a liberal Democrat and firmly believes that there is a major role for government to play in housing and transportation policy. His chief deputy, Sid McCausland, is very action-oriented and, no doubt, in time there will be a Brown Administration transportation plan and a well-thought-out housing policy.

• **Claire T. Dedrick, Secretary of Resources** is 44, with a Ph.D. in microbiology from Stanford. Dedrick was first vice president of the Sierra Club before joining the Brown Administration. Resources is a powerful post with multiple responsibilities. Dedrick's top deputy, Larry Moss, is also from the Sierra Club. This is typical of the Brown cabinet—a very neat switch on the old liberal complaint that conservative chief executives were always appointing "foxes to guard the chicken coop," or "goats to guard the cabbage patch."

(Continued on page 61)

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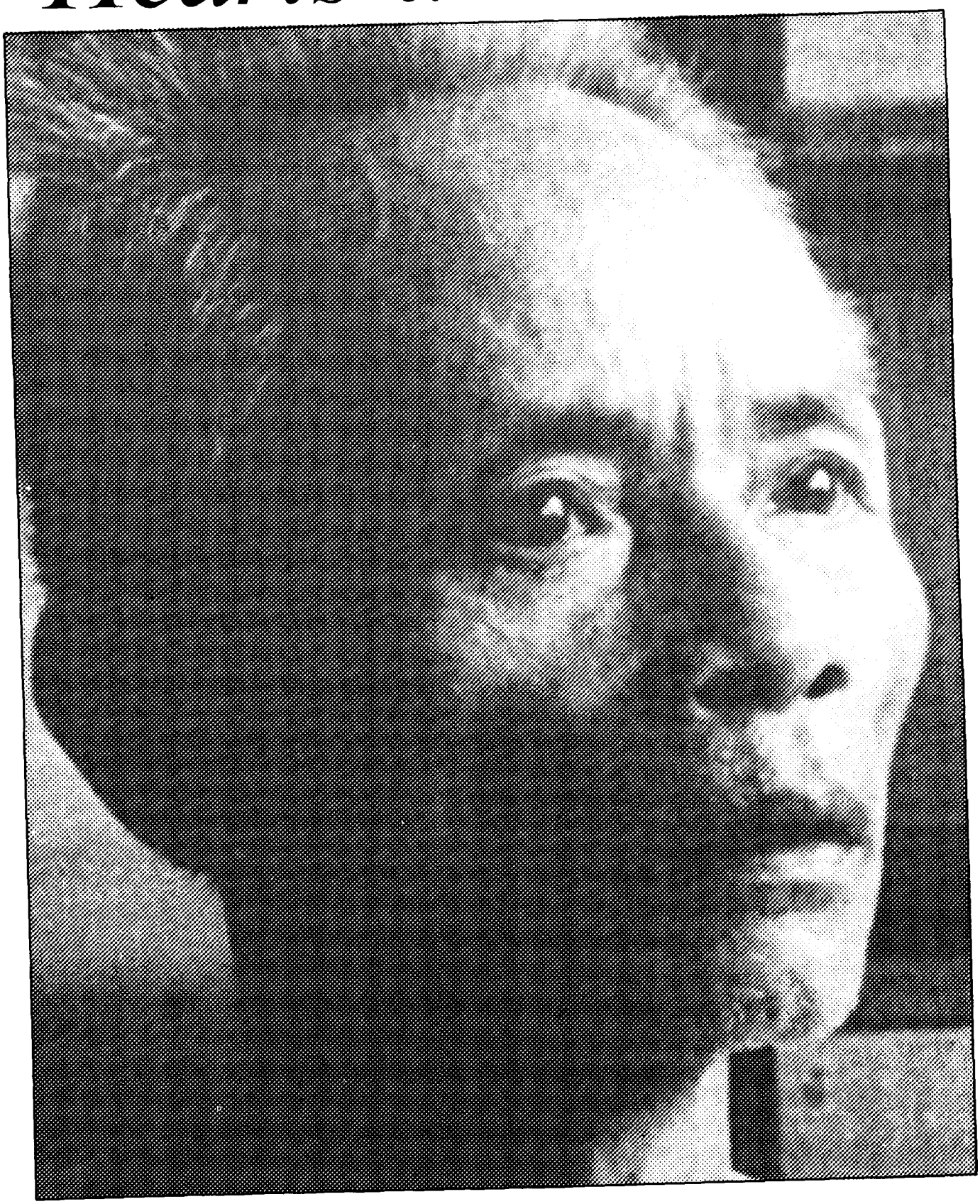
Hearts and Minds



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The Adamant Memory of Vietnam

Tet Offensive, 1968

"I would not have thought I could be so moved by a film about the war, by images I've seen and arguments I've heard and metaphors I've memorized a hundred times over. But *Hearts and Minds* evokes the intensity that made the movement come to life."

by Andrew Kopkind

The war in Vietnam was never hard to understand; the war-within-the-war still surpasses understanding. The war was a logical, if complex, progression of revolution, imperial attack, alliances, battles, negotiations. It has been played out on the enormous screen of world politics in clear, stark lines of black and white. The war-within-the-war defeated logic and defied clear progressions. Its long duration comprises the course of the American encounter with Vietnam, and its consequences are the myriad changes in our lives, our character, our consciousness. The interior war is seen in subtle shades on screens no bigger than a corner of the eye. Neither war is over yet; the struggles and upheavals continue in our hearts and minds as the rockets rain in Indochina.

Reportage from both battlefronts has generally overwhelmed the action. Never in history have so many newsgatherers, observers and analysts said so much about a war, and said it so insistently and repetitiously. The news overload—as much as the specific news content—numbed our senses and cauterized our intellect long ago; and for that reason, among others, it is difficult now for all but a few dedicated Americans to focus on the horrors of the ongoing conflicts, or the meaning of the parts already past.

The appearance of two new films about the Vietnam experience suggests that at last some sense can be made of the history of this interminable state of siege. "Introduction to the Enemy," a political travelogue shot by Americans in North Vietnam and the liberated region of Quang Tri province in the South, touches obliquely but dramatically on the striking development of the American "heresy" of the Sixties: the attachment of political activists to the official "enemy." Activist-filmmaker Haskell Wexler, activist-actress Jane Fonda and activist-activist Tom Hayden naturally and passionately celebrate the victory—however incomplete—of the North Vietnamese and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam over the American imperial forces under which these three live and, to an extent, flourish. They grieve for the fallen soldiers of the Vietnamese resistance and despise the Western intruders. Those emotions are hardly surprising to anyone who believed seriously in the movement against the war; and yet the very naturalness of their passion is suddenly amazing when it is isolated on celluloid and projected at this late stage of the war.

In one sequence, Wexler's hand-held camera catches the explosion of an old American mine near Quang Tri city; a

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young P.R.G. soldier is critically wounded; comrades rush him to a makeshift field hospital; doctors work to save his life. But the man dies, and stretcher-bearers take his body away for burial. Hayden describes the scene with tears in his voice. But why is this man crying? How have we come to celebrate the enemy, with an intensity that increases as their attacks on us multiply? The road to Hanoi, for Hayden and Fonda as well as countless others of us who would share their tears and their celebrations, passes through all the battlegrounds of that war-within-the-war. Yet we still do not know the route. All we know is that it has been an astounding journey in our history, an evolution of ideology and emotion that in some profound way has transformed America in our generation.

[IMAGES]

"Introduction to the Enemy" simply hints at those forces behind the lines. "Hearts and Minds," a film by Peter Davis and Bert Schneider, confronts the consequences of the war-within-the-war and makes a significant effort to understand and express them, with much better results than the media has had so far. Their method is not essentially didactic (although there is enough information and opinion to fill those needs) but evocative: to summon anger, love, rage, disgust, bitterness, joy. Davis and his colleagues do no more than any good filmmakers should do in a well-made movie; but I would not have thought that I could be so moved by a film "about the war" after all these years, by images I've seen and arguments I've heard and metaphors I've memorized a hundred times over. But there is a way in which Director Davis and Photographer Richard Pearce have put their elements together that dredges up dormant memories to recreate the energies that made the movement first come to life.

Joe McCarthy and John Foster Dulles spiel their bizarre anti-communist warnings; Eisenhower reminds an attentive audience of the strategic necessity of Southeast Asian tin and tungsten, John Kennedy unwinds his Jesuitical rhetoric about America's global mission like silken thread from a spool. The mid-Fifties French Premier Georges Bidault remembers how Dulles took him aside at a conference one day and offered him two atomic bombs to destroy the Viet Minh: "Neither one nor three. Two," Bidault says with sardonic emphasis. Put that together with campy clips of military madness and facile racism from old Hollywood movies and ghastly paeans to the Massillon, Ohio, high school football team, and the set and setting of the American adventure is described—more than described: felt. Of course it was no quagmire; but not plotted play from a Leninist script, either. Those images from the past show how surely we all participated in the origins of this war: if not in support of the politics, at least in acquiescence to the values which gave birth to them.

Much of the effectiveness of "Hearts and Minds" derives from its understanding of what anti-imperialist radicals too easily dismiss as "false consciousness." I know how often my own anger or remorse at the height of the war blinded me to the perceptions of Vietnam and the movement held by most Americans. The theoretical distinction between good people and their bad ideas proved impossible to

Wounded Voices

Running like insistent snatches of songs through "Hearts and Minds" are the fragments of conversation Davis and Pearce had with the veterans, POWs, and a deserter. What they think about their war, their country, and their lives becomes a central theme of the Vietnam era consciousness which the film must explore. A haunting hollowness rings from them all: Coker's patriotism is mean and mindless; Floyd's remorse holds little hope; a double amputee black veteran rages with a bitter articulation that takes no direct object, has no means to resolve. A Kiowa Indian veteran recalls how he joined GIs in their anti-Vietnamese racism without recognizing his own position in white America; and yet how different is the land of the Anglo conquistadores now? A deserter comes home to his mother's arms and her tears, and then gives himself up to the authorities in order to campaign for unconditional amnesty; his appearance at a Congressional hearing offers little optimism about the success of that campaign.

Filmically, the bits and pieces of these men's bitter memories of war are arranged with breathtaking impact. Not until the black veteran has spoken several times—after we know what is on his mind—do we see his crippled body. Photographer Pearce managed to film the deserter's homecoming from the moment he walked into his mother's kitchen; incredibly, the camera remains unobtrusive although the scene is awkward and embarrassing because of the reality of the emotions, the weight of the silences like a dinner party in a Cassavetes movie. Ex-airman Randy Floyd, sitting on the stoop of his Oklahoma house, admits that he can hardly cry over what he has seen and done, for his world of meaningless masculinity denies him the gift of emotion. The ex-girlfriend of paraplegic veteran Robert Muller shows us snapshots of the two of them on some long-ago beach, and the sight evokes not pity but anger. Finally, Muller remembers how proud he was of the Marine Corps and his country, and how fine all that made him feel: but no more; his heart, as well as his legs, have been ravaged by the war. —A. K.

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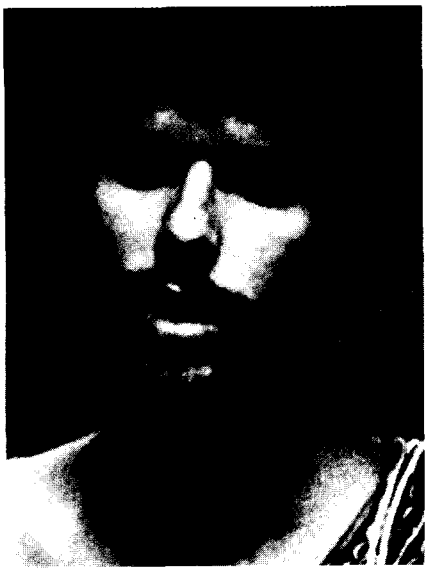
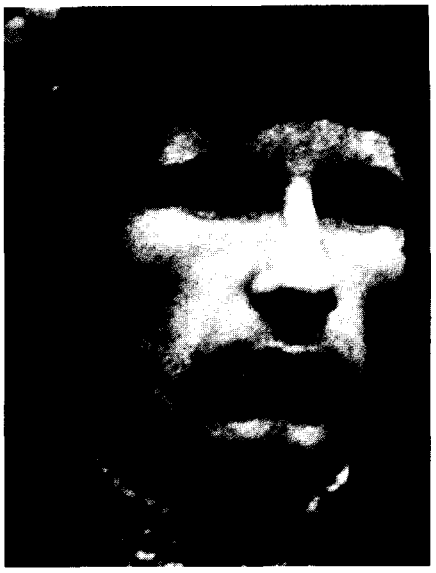


William Marshall

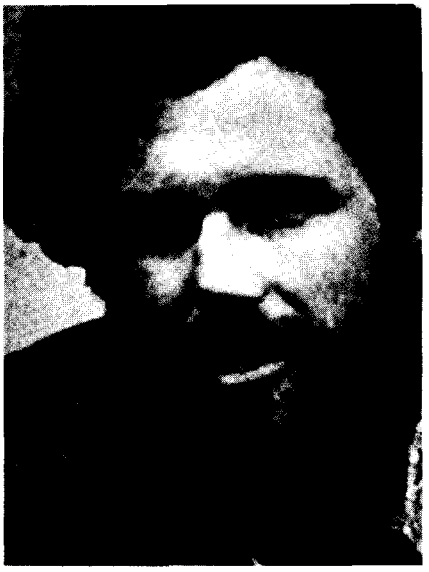
You know you let us all go off to war and said, "yea team," you know, "fight in Vietnam," and all this kind of shit. Now 1968 comes along and "boo team, come on home," and all this shit, "and don't say nothin' about it cause we don't want to hear about it cause it's upsetting around dinner time," you know. Well, goddam, it upset me for a whole goddam year. It upset a lot of people to the point where they're fuckin' dead, you know and all this shit. Now, you don't want to hear about it. I'll tell you about it every day and make you sit out and puke on your dinner, you dig, because you got me over there and now you done brought me back. And you want to forget it so somebody else can go do it somewhere else. Hell no. And you going to hear it all every day, as long as you live, because, hey, it's going to be with me as long as I *live. When I get up in the morning, when John gets up in the morning, a lot of dudes that sit around here get up, man, their gut hurts because they got shot there. I got to put on an arm and a leg 'cause they ain't there no more, you dig. Now you do something about that. Make that all disappear, you dig. You know, make it all go away with the six-o'clock news, turn it off or switch it to another channel and all that shit. The hell with that, you dig. It's here and it's for real, and it's going to happen again unless these folks get up off their ass and realize it* has *happened, you know.*



Robert Muller

And I got a colonel that's flying upstairs and he's getting down on me and he's saying, "take the hill, take the hill." So I popped up behind the lead tank and started to go up the hill and everything was cool until we started taking fire, and that's when I got it. I said, "oh my God, I'm hit." I couldn't believe it, you know, I can't believe it, I am really hit, and my first, first thought was Kay, my girl, you know. It's gonna sound stupid, but my thought was, "she'll kill me." But then I realized that I didn't have to worry because I was dying. It's all over and for what? My last conscious thought was, "I can't believe it. I'm dying. On this shitty piece of ground I'm dying. And I can't fucking believe it."

What hurts the most—and this is a purely personal thing, right wrong or indifferent, that's how I feel—when I was in the Marine Corps I remember I was down in Washington, and they had the Marine Corps drill team there, and I was standing at attention, in my uniform, and they were playing the "Marine Corps Hymn" and then they played "The Star Spangled Banner" and I actually started to cry. I cried because I was so proud to be an American, you know. And I was so proud to be a Marine, and in uniform standing there at attention. That . . . that represented so much to me in the way of life and . . . that's gone, you know, and that hurts, that hurts.



Randy Floyd

It can be described much like a singer doing an aria, you know, he's totally into what's he's doing, you know, totally feeling it. He knows the aria and he's experiencing the aria, and he knows his limits, and he knows what he's doing, and whether he's doing it well. Flying an aircraft can be a great deal like that.

I can tell when the aircraft feels just right. I can tell when it's about to stall. I can tell when I can't pull another fraction of a pound. I could pull the "commit" switch on my stick and the computer took over. A computer figured out the ballistic, the air speed, the slant range, and dropped the bombs. So it was very much of a . . . a technical expertise thing. I was a good pilot, you know. I had a lot of pride in my ability to fly. And the excitement, the sense of excitement, especially if you're getting shot at, is just incredible.

During the missions, after the missions, the result of what I was doing, the result of this, this game, this exercise of technical expertise, never really dawned on me. That reality of the screams or the people being blown away or their homeland being destroyed just was not a part of what I thought about. . . . We as Americans have never experienced that. We've never experienced any kind of devastation . . . When I was there I never saw a child that got burnt by napalm. I didn't drop napalm, but I dropped other things just as bad. But I look at my children now and . . . I don't know what would happen if . . . what I would think about, if someone napalmed them.

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work with (the Vietnamese were always better at that than their American radical allies). There was a time when almost everyone short of the right-on revolutionaries was a "pig," or what was almost as bad, a peacenik without politics. "Politics" was something like the chicken pox; one contracted it like a virus, after which it was visible as spots on the skin. Of course the vast majority of people had little knowledge or interest in the rarefied behavior of our vanguard. They were busy and worried and confused. Like us, they wanted to believe in ideals larger than the mean material of their lives. We found faith in the distant Vietnamese revolution; they lost faith in the oppressively present home front. Davis takes the American people more seriously than most of the movement ever did: not as pitiable proles in the grip of false consciousness, heathens under the influence of animistic religion; but as people worthy of understanding and compassion—and stern judgment, as much as those with more elevated ideologies.

Most Americans knew Vietnam as pictures on television, headlines in the papers, propaganda from politicians. What was real were the young soldiers dying in vain, the veterans, the deserters, the POWs, the mass demonstrations every spring and fall. "Hearts and Minds" uses those images and accepts that reality. The war is what it was and not another thing. Here are the mind-searing pictures: the Saigon police chief literally blowing the brains out of a young rebel suspect; the N.L.F. cadre occupying the American Embassy during the Tet offensive; naked children fleeing the bombs on a battlefront road. And the politicians and warriors: the coldly cruel and professorial Walt Whitman Rostow; the aristocratic and repentent Clark Clifford; the ambiguously apologetic Robert Kennedy; General William ("life is cheap in the Orient") Westmoreland; General George ("I've got a bloody good bunch of killers") Patton, III. The soldiers and veterans and deserters and POWs: Randy Floyd, who sees his life as a soldier of empire as a tragic mistake; and Lieutenant George Coker, who will never cease to be proud of his mission representing America in Vietnam, which, if it were not for the Vietnamese, would be a "very pretty country."

Little of Davis' material is new, although much of it is novel. Its crushing familiarity is what makes the point. The combination of elements which "Hearts and Minds" lays out is what made the social history of America during the "Vietnam era," as the Pentagon calls it. We changed so much during that time, not because of political arguments and analyses, but according to a dynamic difficult to describe, except as this film does: an aggregation of double-binds in no particular order. Contradictions pile up, one on top of the other: we visit Daniel Ellsberg, an Aquarian Hamlet, still tormented, weeping bitterly for the loss of Bobby Kennedy, the genocide of the Vietnamese and other millennial sorrows which he still experiences as a personal reckoning—is poised in the window seat of his beach house set against the gorgeous expanse of Malibu. He seems quite as subdued as Walt Rostow, ensconced in his own setting, high atop a skyscraper in the heart of Texas. Photographer

"Introduction to the Enemy"

South Vietnamese political prisoner

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niel Ellsberg

Returning P.O.W. Lt. George Coker

Pearce shoots both of them "dead," like Diane Arbus caught her freaks: the grotesquerie, after all, was in our minds, not in their images.

In a fragment of a scene, the essential double-bind leaps out: "Look, they're focusing on us again," a South Vietnamese peasant says to his friend as they walk through a village the Americans have just destroyed, under the gaze of the camera crew; "first they bomb as much as they want, then they film." The short scene captures the agonizing absurdity of the American confrontation with the Vietnamese: the imposition of an alien technology and the artifacts of a culture that demands attention and returns no respect. The explicit self-criticism of the dialogue (with excellent voice-over translation) is not a mere grandstand display of Davis' liberal guilt. The intrusive, oppressive camera could be a metaphor for the eye of America, fixed on Vietnam for a dozen years or more, seeing everything and comprehending nothing. The eye is a craven hunter, watching and hiding from the safest distance: the hills of home.

[TWO CULTURES]

The eyes that focus with love are no more penetrating, though obviously less damaging, than those fixed with fear or hate. My own experience in North Vietnam (on a trip arranged by Tom Hayden in early 1968) only confirmed the difficulty of seeing behind the opaque curtain that separates the two cultures of bourgeois America and revolutionary Vietnam. Very little verbiage or imagery—in the glut of war reportage that still accumulates—has managed to convey to Americans, no matter how eager or well-informed, the difficult realities and intractable logic of Vietnamese revolutionary society.

My own choice of the best film documentary about North Vietnam is Joris Ivens' unforgettable study of life under the American bombardment, "The Seventeenth Parallel." Ivens, a brilliant Belgian filmmaker whose work is seldom shown in the United States, screened his just-completed movie for our little group of travelers in an old French colonial salon in downtown Hanoi. The screening was briefly interrupted by an air raid, just an American "reconnaissance flight," actually—the kind that is still going on. We had been in North Vietnam for two weeks, and had seen many of the places and people that Hayden and Fonda filmed four years later in "Introduction to the Enemy." None of us knew what to make of the experience.

Like other Americans who were in Hanoi during the Johnson war years, I was baffled by my presence in the bosom of the enemy, unsure of what relevant way I could lead my life in the face of this scene of imperialist assault and revolutionary resistance. The Vietnamese were not about to help us out of our problem. Indeed, the opacity of their own culture to our eyes made the encounter completely perplexing. But somehow Ivens' film led me to see the Vietnamese with a clarity that was missing in my "real" visits. The Americans in that dark hall in mid-day Hanoi came away with the same remarkable sense that we had somehow glimpsed realities of the Vietnamese struggle that had eluded us in the streets outside and villages beyond.

I got less sense from "Introduction to the Enemy," as

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loving a report from Hanoi as could be made, that Americans had yet penetrated that opacity. Here's one example of the difficulty:

Fonda is interviewing her interpreter. Like all Americans in Vietnam, she is interested in what the people think of *their* enemy—us. "What do you like least about working with Americans?" she asks jauntily. The translator stares at her, speechless. Fonda tries to rephrase the question. The translator has absolutely no idea what the question means. Fonda appears to misinterpret his silence; is he just being "polite" or "shy"—those well-known inscrutable Asian characteristics? Something else is going on, something hidden by common usage and customary convention: Fonda is expressing our turn of mind—of irony, cynicism, concern for appearance. Fonda, no less a middle-class American for her undoubted intelligence and political commitments, thinks in terms of personality, of bests and worsts, of the discrepancy between character and behavior. Over here, her question expresses an amusing self-conscious charm; over there, it betrays a conception of a disintegrated culture and society that we take for granted and assume is universal. It is not.

The North Vietnamese and the P.R.G. are generously grateful for Fonda's and Hayden's love and support, but I suspect that they also return some of the misunderstanding that Americans of whatever political persuasion give them. Wisely or not, Hanoi did not give Davis and Schneider a visa, and the lack of on-the-spot reportage certainly weakens their film. In that respect, "Introduction to the Enemy"—though played in different tones—is a fine complement to "Hearts and Minds" (although I'm not sure our hearts or our minds are resilient enough to sit through both films on a double bill).

[PANIC AT COLUMBIA]

The makers of "Hearts and Minds" have had more than the usual amount of trouble getting their film distributed and exhibited—apart from the disappointment of not getting permission to visit North Vietnam, and the impossibility (after much fruitless toing and froing) of interviewing fugitive radicals. Davis—who made the Emmy-laden "Selling of the Pentagon," for which CBS officials were called to task for their disrespect by a Congressional committee—and Schneider made a deal with Columbia Pictures to produce their Vietnam nonfiction film as part of a six-movie package (others so far: "Five Easy Pieces," "Drive, He Said," "A Safe Place," and "The Last Picture Show") which Schneider's independent company, BBS, had planned. "Hearts and Minds" cost about $1.2 million to put together. Davis trimmed about 150 hours of footage into just under two hours of movie.

Editing was well underway when queasy Columbia executives began to worry about the "controversy" the film might create. Schneider and Davis were properly evasive, but a bit more than a week before "Hearts and Minds" opened at last year's Cannes film festival, Columbia announced it was backing out of the deal. Still in a distributive limbo, the film was screened at Cannes without Columbia's imprimatur, and won ecstatic reviews; it went on to get raves and awards at other festivals and special showings throughout the summer and fall of 1974. Columbia remained obdurate. To questioners, executives maintained that the problems were legal, that they feared suits from subjects whose privacy had been invaded by Davis' cameras. Others at Columbia, in more unguarded moments, allowed as how the corporation did not want a political controversy on its hands in the middle of an economic crisis (even though Columbia had a record income in 1974).

Finally, after a Catch-22 period in which Columbia would neither allow the picture to be shown nor let it be sold, Davis and Schneider managed to "buy" their film from Columbia and then make a distribution arrangement with Warner Brothers. It had a brief commercial run in Los Angeles in late December to qualify for an Academy Award nomination, which in due course it received. At once, Walt Rostow rushed in with a temporary restraining order to stop its further exhibition. He particularly objected to the inclusion of a short segment of an interview Davis made with him, in which Rostow acts the perfect pedant and scoffs at the popularity of the Vietnamese nationalists: "The Ho Chi Minh of 1956 I don't think could have got elected dogcatcher in South Vietnam." Davis follows that classic line with a portion of his interview with Ellsberg, who says: "Ho Chi Minh dead could beat any candidate we've ever put in Vietnam." What Rostow lost in the editing room, he tried to win back in the courts.

The temporary restraining order was in effect until January 22, when Rostow's petition for a permanent injunction was denied in a Los Angeles federal court. The film began its first regular run in Washington, with a premiere sponsored by George McGovern and several other anti-war celebrities to kick off the campaign against aid to the Thieu and Lon Nol regimes in Indochina. But despite all the publicity and a lot of serious, favorable reviews (including one by Rex Reed, which the *New York Daily News* refused to print), distributors around the country have not been eager to book the film into their theaters. Even in college towns like Cambridge, Mass., distributors fear that "the public" is super-saturated with Vietnam, and prefers to spend depression dollars on films of new disasters or stylish nostalgia. It will not be easy for Davis and Schneider to come out of this one in the black.

To be sure, it is that very attitude of bored saturation with the war that both "Hearts and Minds" and "Introduction to the Enemy" seek to overcome. Both films are struggling against post-war cynicism and movement fatigue —and the war is not yet *post;* the anti-war movement at some level is still alive. With its lyrical and exhilarating pictures of Vietnamese reconstruction and unification, "Introduction" offers some hope that the next efforts to stop the war will have specific and identifiable objectives. And with its brave and brilliant presentation of the anatomy of the long, uncivil struggle in America, "Hearts and Minds" could provoke a resurgence of attention to the unexamined questions of the "Vietnam era." We now know to be true what a dissident Saigon editor told Davis: "No matter how many decades America fights, it will never conquer Vietnam." What we do not know how to cure is the pain that paralyzed veteran Robert Muller expresses: "What hurts," he said, "is that I can't believe in America, or anything, anymore."

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The Selling of the Apocalypse (1975)

It was late in February that one of those interesting items often folded into crevices of the daily news appeared on the wire services. A reporter had penetrated the Brooklyn headquarters of the Watchtower Society, whose Jehovah's Witnesses have for years predicted that the war to end all wars, the war to usher in the millenium, would begin this fall. He quoted the Society's spokesman and chief theoretician, 81-year-old F. W. Franz, as privately admitting that miscalculations have been made regarding the imminence of Armageddon, and that planning for this spriritual D-day had been indefinitely suspended.

Along with snake-handlers and holy rollers, millenarians are fair game for our ridicule. Yet whatever their style, in terms of the substance of their message, the Jehovah's Witnesses suddenly find themselves in a more conservative position on the issue of the Apocalypse than the cultural mainstream. Revelations seems a pale text indeed compared to some predictions which are now accorded the status of reasonable argument. We are told that the slouching beast is all around us. If the Second Coming were to occur tomorrow, many would go away annoyed, as they did from the Snake River jump, because the event failed to live up to advance billing.

Even though it is cut off from the saving grace of sectarian ecstasy, the Apocalypse sells briskly, one of the few corners of the marketplace where supply and demand move in aimiable lockstep. We read human interest stories in the newspaper about the businessman who comes home from work every night and begins his *real* job:

September Bible by Albrecht Dürer

by Peter Collier

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stocking and fortifying his home against the coming breakdown of urban life. Television features the story of two New York stewardesses who successfully moonlight between flights teaching classes on mastering the art of disaster cooking: how to make a tasty quiche from powdered egg, dried onion, and hoarded water. An enterprising California man begins a school teaching survival plumbing, carpentry, wiring, and other know-how that will be necessary after the holocaust. All over the country, entrepreneurs start up in the dehydrated food business, packaging supplies of a high-protein, well-balanced diet suitable for eating or for use as currency when the inevitable mega-inflation has finally made it necessary to hazard a shopping expedition through a city whose garbage collection, law enforcement, and other systems have broken down, carrying a rucksack of greenbacks to trade for a pound of spun soybean fiber.*

The vision conjured of an approaching breakdown also has the appeal of being a tidy, complete fantasy, somewhat like the bomb shelter fantasy of the Fifties, and probably indicating comparable fears of impotence. In a recent *Esquire*, Alvin Toffler takes us through several cataclysmic scenarios on the coming crisis in the world economic order, finally concluding that we are actually in line for something so shattering that it will beggar all prior human experience and historical analogy—an "eco-spasm" that will alter the whole human enterprise. ("What we see here," he says, proudly surveying the results of his imagination, "is a world out of control, perched on the edge of randomness.") Hollywood has captured the appeal of this piss-the-bed dreamworld exactly in *Earthquake, The Towering Inferno,* and other trendy disaster movies.

The hard economic times that are indeed upon us seem negligible in comparison to our feverish imaginings: we experience the worst long before it comes and probably more completely than we will ever really need to. The obvious advantage of an Apocalypse over a regular inflation/recession/depression is that it cuts swiftly through the ambiguity to an attractively primal morality. Disaster restores us to the world of elemental, life and death choices, to control over our destiny which modern life has stolen from us.

*** For a description of the process leading up to the Gotterdammerung, as well as a comprehensive plan for profiting from it—a genuinely American twist to traditional millenarianism—see Harry Browne's best-selling *You Can Profit from a Monetary Crisis.***

["LIFEBOAT ETHICS"]

That doomsday should be experienced as a fad long before it becomes a reality is in itself neither surprising nor necessarily bad. Yet it does suggest a further hardening of the emotional arteries. We are constantly being urged to take a "tough," hardnosed attitude toward the difficult problems ahead; to get it together for the cultural deliverance trip that will soon shoot us over the rapids of history. It is not accidental that this mood settles down around us like a ground fog at the same time that a lapse into famine and mass death becomes a real possibility in many parts of the world.

What stands on the horizon of much of the third world (the Indian subcontinent, sub-Saharan Africa, and parts of Southeast Asia in particular) is not one of your homogenized disasters with far out special effects and a clever choreography of carnage, but the real thing. For years parts of the world have experienced acute malnutrition which (according to United Nations statistics) has made children vulnerable to a pandora's box of disease, killing millions of them each year before they reach their fifth birthday. That could be (and indeed has been) ignored; it is not starvation *per se.* But the epic shifting of gears in the world economy during the past few years and the new attitude toward the equation between international resources, population, and production has upped the ante. The stakes now involve chronic starvation which will (according to moderate estimates) take the lives of 500 million people during the present decade, as many as 10 million of them before the end of the year. We have already seen a preview of this first horseman of the apocalypse on news coverage of the siege of Phnom Penh: young mothers in a helpless narcosis suckling nearly-dead babies with grotesquely stretched skin and bellies so huge that they seem to be getting inflated by the breast. It is a phenomenon appearing elsewhere in the world, although without the added desperation of war. It is a responsibility that we, as the richest agricultural nation in the world, will sooner or later have to face. What do we do?

Nothing. At least that is the response of a growing percentage of the country's scientists who have been shaping the answer over the past few years, knowing that the question was bound to come up. Spearheaded by a cadre of population biologists, they are gradually arriving at the position that in the coming era *triage* must be a cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy.* A leading spokesman for such a "realism" in our food policy is Garrett Hardin, professor of human ecology at the Santa Barbara campus of the University of California, who has chosen the phrase "lifeboat ethics" to describe his views.

In a recent, widely-noted article in *Bioscience* (October, 1974, a shortened version appearing in the previous month's *Psychology Today*), he considers the fact that the population growth of the underdeveloped world continues to outstrip development of its industrial capacity and food production. "Metaphorically, each rich nation amounts to a lifeboat full of comparatively rich people. The poor of the world are in other, much more crowded lifeboats. Continuously, so to speak, the poor fall out of their lifeboats and swim for awhile in the water outside, hoping to be admitted to a rich lifeboat, or in some other way to benefit from the 'goodies' on board. What should the passengers on the rich lifeboat do? This is the central problem of the 'ethics of a lifeboat.' "

Hardin briefly considers the alternative of acting by either Christian or Marxist ideals and sharing space in the lifeboat with the swimmers clamoring to get in. It is, he admits, a natural impulse. What happens if one gives in to it? "The boat is swamped, and everyone drowns. Complete justice, complete catastrophe." Anyone contemplating such idealism is not only

*** First popularized in the French trenches of World War I, the term describes the system by which the wounded were sorted into three groups in the field hospitals—those who would recover without aid; those who would probably not recover even with it; and those for whom it would make the difference.**

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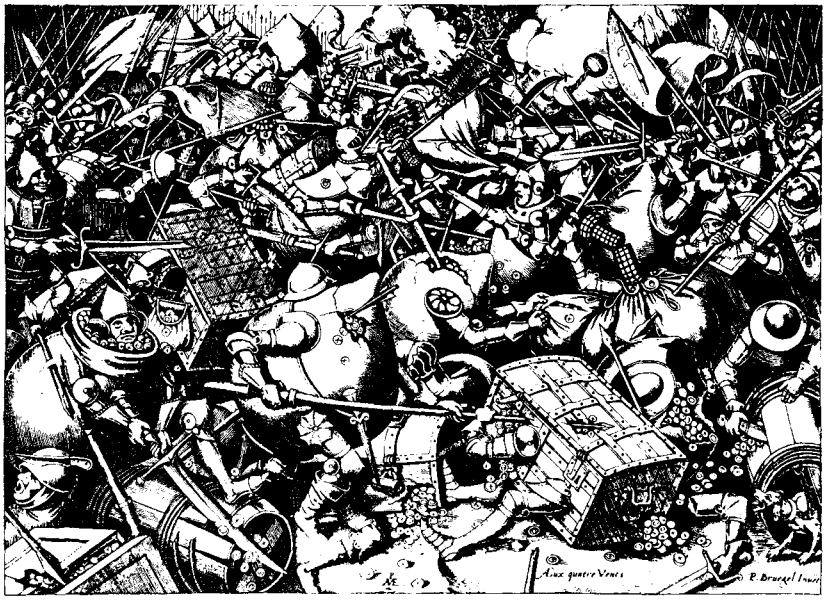
unscientific, but (the one thing that is perhaps even worse) a "guilt addict" as well. Such emotionalism will be intolerable in the coming era. Hardin says that anyone bothered by the selfishness of the lifeboat has the option of yielding his place to someone less fortunate. "The net result of conscience-stricken people relinquishing their unjustly held positions is the elimination of their kind of conscience from the lifeboat. The lifeboat, as it were, purifies itself of guilt. The ethics of the lifeboat persist, unchanged by such momentary aberrations."

The lifeboat metaphor may be somewhat exotic, but the message is a familiar one. (It is, as a matter of fact, present in nascent form in Hardin's "The Tragedy of the Commons," a widely reprinted 1968 essay accorded the status of holy writ by certain conservationists.) We live in a world of limited resources and the earth's finite carrying capacity will soon be strained to the breaking point. Something must give. The first casualty must be our admirable but doomed ambition to be the "feeders of the world." The billions we have spent in sending food abroad during the last 20 years has earned us the right to finally look to our own interests. Why should a nation practicing such restraint that the doubling time of its birth rate is 87 years share its provisions with those retarded lands so incontinent as to allow their people to double in number every 21 years?

Without knowing or even willing it, we have entered a harsh Darwinian world in which the population biologist is philsopher-king, and an equal birth and death rate is the *summum bonum*. Hardin assures us that the conventional humanitarian view of this moral dilemma is actually corrupt; that it is really more blessed not to give. (As added moral sanction for this view, he cites the *realpolitik* of the third century theologian Tertullian: "The scourges of pestilence, famine, wars, and earthquakes have come to be regarded as a blessing to overcrowded nations, since they serve to prune away the luxuriant growth of human nature.") To help the imperiled nations even through their present crisis is a kind of evil; their high birth rate ensures that such help will only institutionalize this crisis as a central fact of their national existence and prolong the agony of these cursed lands. The human alternative is what Hardin's colleague Paul Ehrlich describes in another context as a "die off." We must let it be. History will vindicate us: by taking such a hands-off position, we were actually sheep in wolves' clothing. After a generation has perished, then perhaps these poor and chronically unlucky countries will have acquired the correct ratio of population to production and resources, beginning *de novo* and evolving aright. Ah! Zero population growth.



"The Fight of the Money-Bags and Strong-Boxes"
by Peter Bruegel the Elder

[*TRIAGE* IS HERE]

Hardin's lifeboat may sound like the Good Ship Lollipop under the command of Captain Queeg, or a metaphor similar to Swift's diabolical recipe for Irish stew in "A Modest Proposal." Yet it is neither pure buffoonery nor satire, and in the present international economic confusion and the apocalyptic mood composting in our intellectual as well as popular culture, this "ethic" has gained a certain benighted respectability. Gone are the days when Hardin and other hardliners on population—Paul Ehrlich, Kingsley Davis, et al.—could be written off scornfully by the Population Council and other pillars of the scientific establishment as "the California school." The green revolution has failed to live up to expectations. The energy crisis has stalled the industrialization of farming techniques around the world. Technological solutions for the hunger crisis, in fact, seem increasingly remote. In a portentous statement, American Academy of Sciences President Philip Handler recently put at least one foot into the lifeboat when he noted that parts of Southeast Asia have no chance of feeding their millions in the future, and we must "give them up as hopeless."

Hardin's ideals seem *de rigueur* in governmental circles as well, although it has been difficult to determine just what U.S. food policy is. For the past few years, foreign diplomats have been pleading with this country to allow the issue of famine to be ventilated. Even many of those who professed to admire Secretary of State Kissinger's statecraft expressed dismay over his apparent determination not to make familiarity with the international food situation one of his accomplishments. Not until the recent World Food Conference did the U.S. articulate something like a policy; even then its position was exemplified less by official statements than by the bizarre performance of Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz. Tangled in his string of contretemps (along with his Italian jokes, he managed the classic one-liner: "Hunger is relative."), was an interesting quibble with reporters. Pressed hard to describe his view of the present dilemma, he agreed that the food situation is "critical," but adamantly refused to use the term "food crisis" to describe it. It is a Lewis Carroll world where refusal to name the problem allows one to avoid it. Such a public posture contrasts starkly with the attitude implied in a statement leaked from a recent National Security Council meet-

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ing: "To give food aid to countries just because people are starving is a pretty weak reason."

We never were quite the innocent prodigals trying to divide our loaves and fishes among the multitude that Hardin taxes us with being. There was an agricultural surplus so immense that it cost $1 million a day just to store it; there was a foreign policy in which food aid could be useful. These two facts were wedded for a quarter of a century in an extremely practical exchange of grain and other foodstuffs for military bases and ideological friendship. The Russian wheat deal took care of the remaining huge American surpluses; the energy crisis has made sure that such surpluses will not happen again in our time. Food is now something we dare not "waste": it is our leading export item, our version of the Arabs' oil, our international leverage. It bolsters our balance of payments and keeps us in the game. It is no accident that final control over such surpluses has just been shifted to the National Security Council.

Although producing more than ever, we send just one-sixth as much food abroad for hunger relief now as we did a decade ago. Of the current $1 billion in food aid, some 75 percent goes to our third world "allies." South Korea, Indonesia, South Vietnam, even countries like Syria whose only utility to the U.S. is that it looms large in Kissinger's diplomacy, get low-interest, long-term loans to buy our food. The other hungry countries go begging. Days after President Ford agreed to sell 2.2 million more tons of grain to the USSR, Secretary Kissinger told representatives of India that we could afford to sell them only 500,000 tons of grain for their serious needs. *Triage* is here already.

[PROTEIN IMPERIALISM]

That complex world where elaborate computer models predict the shocking velocity of the coming collision between food and population is not a friendly place for the layman. Yet it does not take extraordinary training or insight to look around and wonder if we aren't being asked to man the lifeboats prematurely. How can we believe in the single, hard alternative the population biologists and State Department strategists give us when we turn on the evening news and see protesting midwestern farmers shoot 1,000 calves and then bulldoze their carcasses into mass graves; when west coast poultrymen react to low prices by an act of "conscience" in which they drown hundreds of thousands of baby chicks in immense iron vats? At the same time Hardin and the others urge us to launch our frail craft and prepare to repulse all boarders, our government is paying nearly four times as much to U.S. farmers to keep 20 percent of the country's agricultural lands out of production as it does on food aid abroad. In a time when increased oil prices have sent fertilizer costs out of sight, Americans still apply three million tons annually to non-agricultural lawns, gardens, cemeteries, and golf courses—more than used on all farms in India and equal to half the crucial fertilizer shortage in the underdeveloped world.

More than half our agricultural lands are tied up growing feed for farm animals and livestock, much of it in high-quality protein grains force-fed to cattle in the feedlot. There the meals are supplemented by antibiotics and hormone treatments that fatten the flesh with that awful speed that marbles it with the tasty fat and carcinogens that win it a "prime" designation from meat inspectors. (Range-fed cattle may be more economical in utilizing vegetable protein, but their flesh does not possess this poisoned succulence.) Our cattle annually eat nearly twice as much grain as the entire population of India. Lester Brown of the Overseas Development Council notes that if we were to reduce our meat consumption by 10 percent for a year, it would free for human consumption 12 million tons of grain now being fed to animals.

According to a recent article by nutritionist Frances Moore Lappe (*Harpers,* February 1975) we eat twice as much protein as our bodies can absorb—10,000 pounds of meat for each of us by the time we reach three score and ten, and twice as much per capita as we did at the end of World War II. This habit is supported by a full-fledged protein imperialism. Only 7 percent of the underdeveloped world's food comes from imports. The Netherlands, on the other hand, heads the world's milk and dairy goods importers. Europeans buy up one third of Africa's protein-rich peanut crop for animal feed. The U.S. is the world's largest beef importer. As of 1968 we were buying some 700,000 tons of fishmeal from Peru and Chile to enrich our cattle and hog feed; this supply would have provided enough protein to satisfy the basic needs of 15 million people for a year.

What we have here is not a case for lifeboat ethics, but a sailing plan for a luxury liner. We count our calories for weight loss, while millions count them for survival. We sit in the first-class section of the boat like aristocrats from the Decameron, titillating ourselves with tales of an imagined apocalypse, while veritable disaster is all around us. For the coming decades at least, the question is not whether others will try to board our ship, but whether their needs will decrease the gluttony at the Captain's Table. We have so arranged the world that disaster is something that happens to others. Of the 143 first-class passengers aboard the Titanic, all but four were saved.

[NOVOCAIN FOR THE SOUL]

Malthus tells us in those no-uncertain-terms so greatly admired by population biologists: "A man who is born into a world already possessed has no claim of *right* to the smallest portion of food, and, in fact, has no business to be where he is. At nature's mighty feast there is no vacant cover for him. She tells him to be gone and will quickly execute her own orders if he does not work upon the compassion of some of her other guests." Compassion: in the version of reality we are being requested to embrace, it indicates a dangerous fecklessness. Anyone suggesting that it should play a role in the creation of policy is likely to be denounced as a leper-licker, a bleeding heart.

Even so, we must reject those who advise us to replace simple decency with a Stone Age survival strategy. Their theories on food and people are, in their own way, as abhorrent as the theories on race held by Jensen, Shockley, and the others. We must not allow ourselves to be mystified by their apparent expertise. (The present

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situation is reminiscent of the groundwork laid by Southeast Asia "experts" justifying the early stages of the Vietnam war; they too said that basic sensibility did not qualify as a reason for opposing government policy.)

The question is not whether the United States can alleviate the food crisis, but whether it will be willing to make the sacrifices to do so. (Since we have spent the last half century pillaging dark continents all over the globe, to do so would not be a "gift," for those who suspect altruism, but the repayment of a debt.) We can conceive of an epic, multi-billion dollar effort to bring genocide to Vietnam, but not to save a generation from death by starvation. We are not even encouraged to consider the possibility, but prompted to write it off reflexively. This is the peculiarly coercive power of the lifeboat analogy: it stampedes us into acceding to our worst instincts.

We are given no alternatives. (Those who *insist* on making fools of themselves are allowed to deprive themselves of one meal a week and send the money saved to the local archdiocese for its hunger relief program.) Thus we are pushed further into the position of impotent voyeurs. The twisted morality of Vietnam is gone, or at least slumbering while awaiting a new call to arms.* The so-called Watergate morality was little more than the surprised discovery that we still had it in us to be outraged by scandalous corruption, a sort of joint pinch administered to prove that the war had not killed all power of feeling in our social nerves. We are left with the moral narcolepsy so well embodied in the Prussian monotone of the present Secretary of State. It is the sort of vacuum in which mountebanks can not only think the unthinkable out loud, but immediately attract a coterie of squealing preemies.

It is unlikely that we will be confronted by the spectacle of contemporary Goths and Vandals sacking Washington, D.C. The Apocalypse will be delivered up as it has been before—in that plausible, painless world where the only decision called for is the decision to be quiet. Meanwhile, we will be encouraged in the American desire to live in a guilt-free universe where it is not demeaning to be commanded into the lifeboats; where it does not sound absurd when someone asks if, strictly speaking, *something* has not just been killed when the aborted six-month-old fetus is tossed into a stainless steel container for an hour or so until its convulsive limbs have stopped clanking and then the thing nobody has admitted was alive can be finally pronounced dead and ready for use by medical students or specimen-starved embryologists.

It is our misfortune to live in a time when there is a mugger or rapist in every shadow and a Savanarola on every streetcorner. The contemplation of death becomes easier and easier—death of terminals, third worlders, the old, the unfit, the others. Between the lines of all the faddish talk of new ways to allow people to go gentle into that good night, one hears doctors joking in the locker room atmosphere of the operating theater about "pulling the plug." One cannot help but see in the drive to ensure dignified last rights a hint of the social engineer's mentality: convince more people to take this biological form of early retirement and you free up space and facilities for those remaining.

One of the books that has gained a cult following among certain doomsters is Roberto Vacca's *The Coming Dark Age.* It forecasts a widespread and imminent collapse of the systems which support modern urban life. Is it purely quixotic to worry that the system most under pressure has nothing to do with the delivery or distribution of goods and services—that it is the more delicate and irreplaceable system of impulse and sensibility that establishes our basic humanity? Everywhere there are auguries telling us that *this* is the system that is truly obsolete: that it doesn't work any more and that we must have a more streamlined ethic to fit modern occasions.

It is our burden to be surrounded by pushers offering novocain for the uneasy soul.

Peter Collier is a freelance writer living in the San Francisco Bay Area. *Copyright © 1975 by Peter Collier.*

*** The "case" for such a move appeared in the March 1975 issue of *Harper's.* The pseudonymned author (the article had the content as well as the form of a put-on) concluded that invading the Middle East would be a piece of cake: "If Vietnam was full of trees and brave men and the national interest was almost invisible, here there are no trees, very few men, and a clear objective." In the present atmosphere, knaves and fools get by.**

The book organized psychiatry wants suppressed . . .

"INSANITY DEFENSE"

by RICHARD ARENS
Professor of Law, Temple Univ.

foreword by HAROLD D. LASSWELL

". . . the book is a beacon . . . it tells us exactly what does happen . . . we have at present a kind of Watergate forensic psychiatry . . ."

—Frederick Wertham, M.D.
New York Law Journal 7/74

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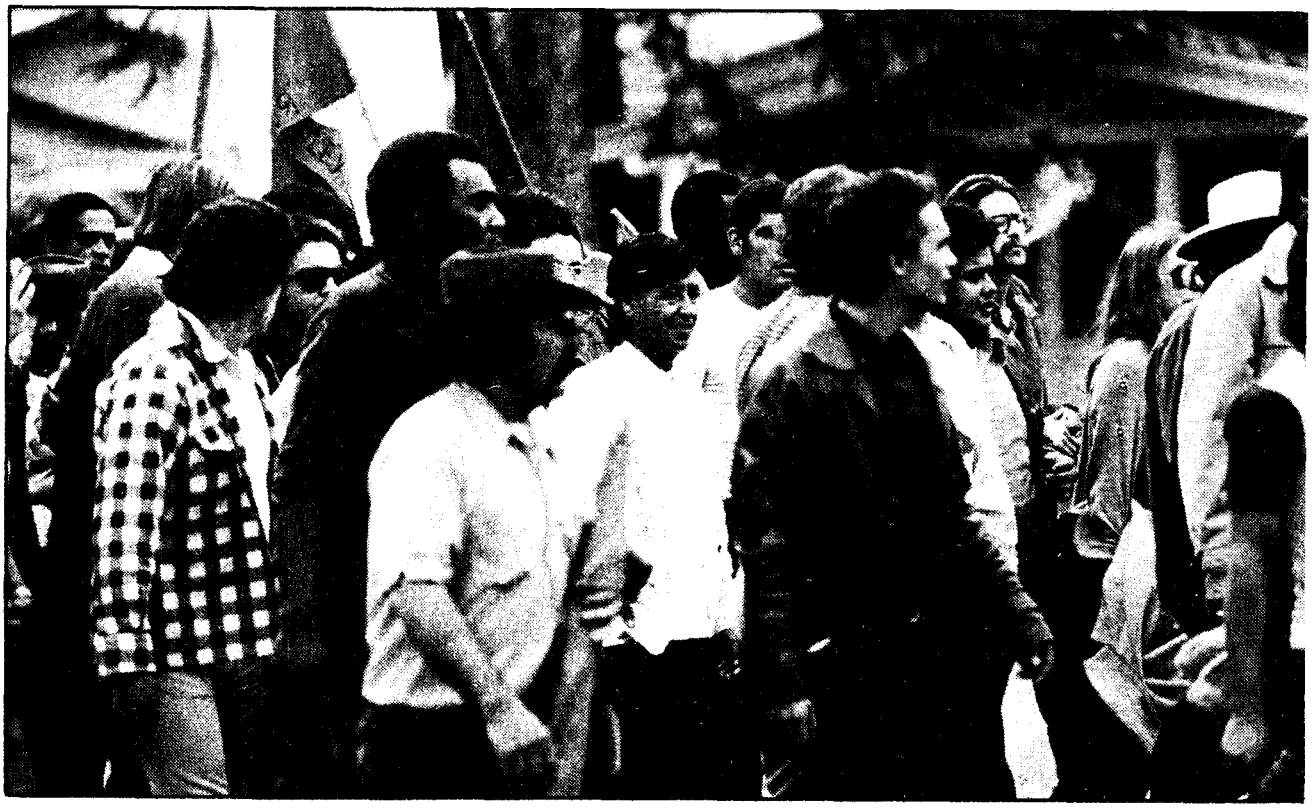


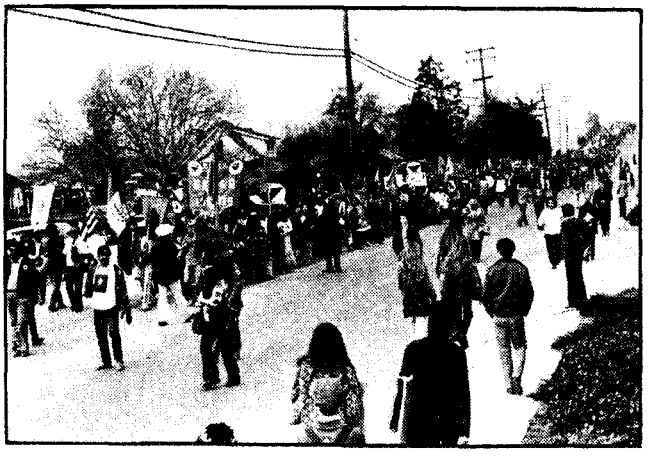
Diane Coleman

A Moment of Rebirth

From the S.F. Examiner *(Hearst Pub. Co.), March 2, 1975*

MODESTO, CALIF.—More than 10,000 sympathizers of the United Farm Workers Union, led by Cesar Chavez, gathered here yesterday for a massive rebirth of the union's organizing offensive. As marchers streamed through this city of 85,000 where the giant E & J Gallo winery, the nation's largest, has its headquarters, they chanted bilingual slogans: "Boycott Gallo" and "Viva la Huelga". . . .

"If Mr. Gallo lets the workers vote," said Chavez, "we pledge ourselves that if we lose, we will call off the boycott and they can live happily ever after. But if we win, we're going to tell the Teamsters: *Vamos*, Get out". . . .



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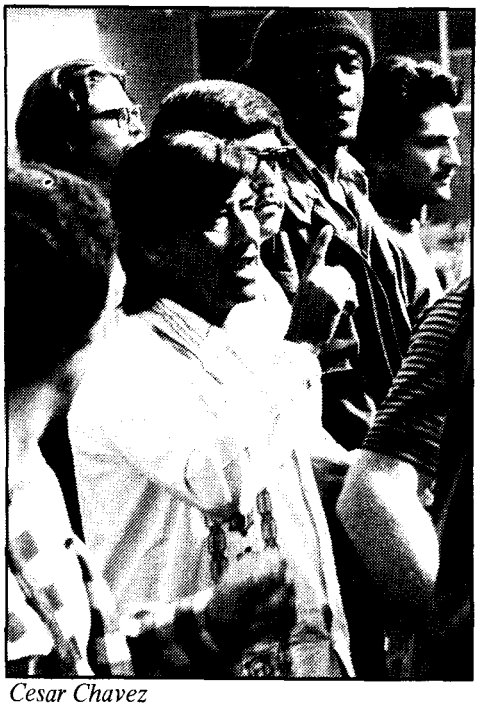
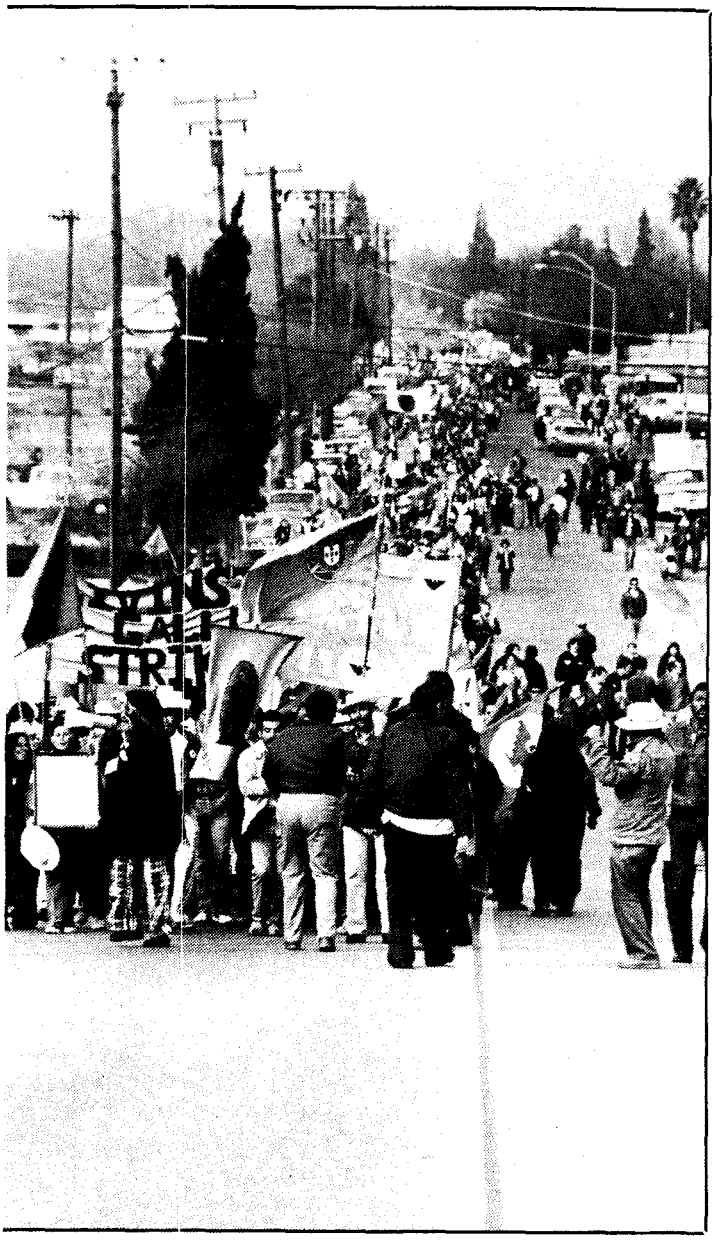
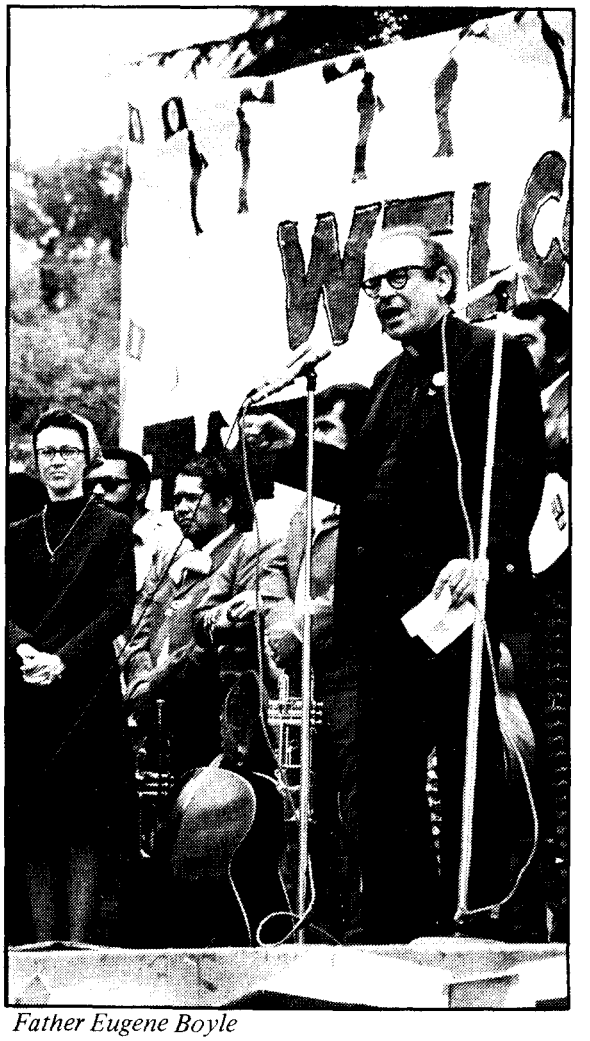


Cesar Chavez





Father Eugene Boyle

Photographs by Daniel Hunter

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And the sun shines down up - on the man whose
life is done, for a martyr has been ta- ken, he is
Old Juan de la
Cruz
And the heat poured down on the
field be-low, the lead came flying from the vineyard row, de la Cruz and his wife never
ducked or ran, they were Union folks since the fight be- gan.

JUAN DE LA CRUZ

words and music by Joan Baez

Once again the workers rise with the lark
There's a mass going on in the people's park
Silent and determined they set to embark
On a three day fast and a five mile march

For a man's been shot on the picket line
Sixty years of strength was young for dying,
His family is here with eyes of red
His wife steps down with feet of lead

And the sun shines down upon
The old man whose life is done
For a martyr has been taken,
He is Old Juan de la Cruz.

A century of women pray
At the casket before them laid
And the Virgin of Guadalupe
Watches over de la Cruz.

As the heat poured down on the field below
The silver came a-flying from the vineyard row
De la Cruz and his wife never ducked or ran
Union folks since the fight began.

People scattered out laying low to the ground
And slowly arose as the dust died down,
Birds fluttered loud in his wife's sweet breast
As the bullet sank deep in the old man's chest.

The tears fell as Cesar read
The eulogy for the dead
And the Bishop broke the people's bread
Over Old Juan de la Cruz.

In the pitch of night a deal was made
The deck's oldest card was played,
And the devil saw someone get paid
For the death of de la Cruz.

Thirty years ago in the same damn spot
The people who ordered the workers shot
Fought as the poor for the same damn right
Of their children to sleep well fed at night.

Oh Children of the Brotherhood, how you've grown
But the seeds of hate were early sown
And I see that your souls have long since flown
To the river of greed where angels moan,

Midst flowered veils and weathered graves
And flags where the great black eagle waves,
Nosotros Venceremos plays
For Old Juan de la Cruz.

There's work today that must be done
Pray for the man who held the gun,
And with sightless eyes shot down the one
Called Old Juan de la Cruz.

The rest of our story now fast and clear
How half our daily bread appears,
Picked through the summer by young and old
Whose earnings must last through the winter's cold,

By children who have stood with their backs bent down
To scrape the roots from the growers' ground,
And mothers who have wept the night away
For a child born dead on a rainy day.

The handkerchiefs unfold once more
Through an iron mist, I can't be sure
But it looks like I see heaven's door
Swinging wide for de la Curz.

The nuns and the priests and the workers sing
Through the valley of blood their voices ring,
Hallelujah, he is risen and thank you, Lord,
For Old Juan de la Cruz.

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LOWNDES

(From page 12)

Sheriff John Hulett said of the attempts at building an economic base, "it's our biggest problem. We have a long way to go."

Part of the problem is the control that the county board of commissioners and the board of education still maintain. The school system will be the major employer of black people in Lowndes for many years to come. If the black community controlled the system, more money could be funneled to more people, and salaries could be upgraded for blacks. But control may still be some years away. The last challenge by a black candidate against the reigning white superintendent, who has been in office for 38 years, lost by about 240 votes, and contests for a majority of the board of education have also been defeated.

One black man was elected in 1972 to the five-member board of commissioners, and although he is not known as a movement firebrand, his presence there has made a difference to the black community in some cases. The most important instance concerns the Community Health Center, a former Office of Economic Opportunity operation that was a point of local pride as well as a shining example of federal service to the poor before it was shut down in 1973.

The center—the only building in the county with an elevator—went up next to the jail in Hayneville in 1969, at a cost in excess of a million dollars. Another million went into equipment and appurtenances—including 14 vehicles for getting around the 30-square mile county, and getting residents into Hayneville. The Lowndes "Board of Health," which consisted of the three extant doctors—all white—was the grantee. A community advisory board, including many poor blacks, tried to assert its authority, and in time moved to replace the doctors as grantee. But the resulting controversy embittered the OEO in Washington, which ceased to fund the whole project out of a mixture of confusion and spite.

The one practicing physician, Dr. Henry H. Meadows, set up an office a few yards away on the Hayneville square. He never had much faith in the local blacks, anyhow; he once told the Alabama Medicaid director that the emigration of "the most ambitious and intelligent Negroes" from Lowndes had "left behind the indolent and perhaps mentally defective, and they began to inbreed." He later modified his genetic theory to take into account the effects of malnutrition on IQ and general competence. He would tell people that obesity was the major health problem in Lowndes: the result of federal food giveaways and a tradition, as in certain exotic Asian countries, that women are purposely fattened as a symbol of wealth and status.

The OEO building lay dormant for a year, while the old community advisory board changed itself into the Lowndes County Health Association and tried to get funds for a clinic. The need was demonstrable: in its four years of operation, the old center, with a staff of 108, had delivered free comprehensive health care to more than 10,000 people, a great many of whom had never been to see a doctor in their lives. But the blacks in the new association could not get their hands on the facilities. The county commissioners succeeded in transferring title to the building from OEO to themselves, and then set about removing every stick of equipment and all the vehicles, and shipping them to the Lister Hill Health Center in Montgomery. The blacks looked on in dismay as their facilities drained away.

"See the holes on the walls," Steve Wilson, the acting administrator of the Health Association, pointed out as we sat in a bare office in the center. "They snatched every damn thing they could disassemble—bookcases, everything."

After a year, however, the commissioners—prodded by their one new black member—made the skeletal building available to the Health Association for $1-a-year—plus, of course, the maintenance costs, which amount to about $1,000 a month. In March 1974, the Health Association opened its clinic on the thinnest of shoestrings, and with no encouragement from the local white doctors.

"The whites on the square write off the Health Association," Steve Wilson said. "They pretend it doesn't exist." But business is booming. Since it opened, some 6,800 people come through for treatment each month. There are two young white doctors on the staff; their salaries are partially subsidized by the Public Health Service. (The other two white doctors in the county—a third has recently died—will not let the association's doctors into the "County Medical Association" or the "Health Board," of which the two locals are the sole members.) The center gets no outside funding, except for third-party reimbursements from Medicare, Medicaid and an Agriculture Department program for mothers of infant children.

"There's no funding for people not on these programs, but of course we help them anyway," Wilson said. "We're a service program, but that's not all. The delivery of health services in Lowndes is essentially a political act—when the people have a hand in it," he added. The board that runs the clinic is now all black, as are most of the patients (though some white mothers come in under the Agriculture Department program). The board's chairman is William Bradley, also the director of Head Start. "We don't have 'leaders' here who tell people what to do," Wilson concluded. "We try to make decisions all together."

Wilson is one of only a few young blacks in Lowndes who have the style—and the background—of the civil rights workers of the Sixties. He was raised in Philadelphia, worked in movement projects in Mississippi, and now is "on loan" to Lowndes from a community organizing job in Tuskegee. He sees the clinic as a real victory for the movement in Lowndes, and a measure of the success of black organization. It also seems to be a metaphor for the difficulties that remain: the physical incompleteness, the uncertainty of support, the cold indifference of the powerful whites. Lowndes

The Farmworkers are asking you to boycott Gallo wines.

United Farm Workers of America (AFL-CIO)

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John Hulett, Sheriff Lowndes County

William Bradley, Head Start Director

now is on its own; it is not likely that marches will pass through again.

"We're trying to help ourselves," Mrs. Willie M. Strickland said emphatically, in a phrase I heard many times in Lowndes. "We can't afford to let them use us like they used to. No, we're on our way."

[BY ANY MEANS]

The future of the movement in Lowndes is not entirely dependent on the energies, or even the success, of the black leadership that formed the Freedom Organization. The election of more black officials, especially to the school board, the commissioners, and the school superintendency, would certainly give more impetus to social and economic progress. If those elections are lost, as William Bradley said last autumn, "things could go backwards."*

But changes in Alabama politics, in the patterns of regional emigration and immigration, and larger national trends far removed from Hayneville are as important as local developments.

First, the Alabama Democratic party—the regulars—is more open to black support than anyone in 1966 would have thought possible. Several black county officials—including John Hulett—have declared sentiments of support ranging from outright approval to mild acceptance. Hulett remains on the most suspicious edge of the blacks-for-Wallace wave, but he now figures he can get more for Lowndes by acceptance rather than antagonism. In fact, he said he could vote for Wallace a few days after the governor helped the black Health Association get control of the medical center building from the Lowndes County commissioners.

The openings to the blacks made by the regular party have eroded the position of the alternative National Democratic Party. In 1974, for instance, Lowndes blacks chose to run in the regular Democratic party primary rather than stay in the NDPA. They defeated the white Democrats and in some measure "took over" the old party, although the county committee still has a white majority. To an extent, the new formation in Lowndes signals the end of separate—and separatist—black politics in the South, although that process may not be completed for many elections to come. In Lowndes, at least, there was no longer any reason for the black majority to have its separate organization.

Second, the Black Belt is shrinking—or at least becoming less black. About 2,000 blacks have left Lowndes, reducing the black population by about a sixth since the movement began ten years ago. Some blacks may move in (or move back from the North), but the whites are immigrating at a much faster rate. Part of Lowndes is just beyond the current limits of Montgomery's suburbia, and it won't be long before the capital area stretches well into the county. The change in Lowndes land usage from cotton to beef production has meant less work for black farmers. The younger men and women are still leaving for northern industrial centers. Blacks make up 90 percent of the under-five population but only 77 percent of the total for the county. The voting-age population of blacks is getting closer to minority status.

Only 10 of Alabama's 67 counties have black majorities, and of those, only 7 have majorities over 65 percent—generally considered the margin needed for the election of blacks to a controlling position in county offices. The total black population dropped to 26 percent in the state in 1970, from 30 percent ten years earlier. Faced with a declining percentage of voters in the state (birth rates by race are also evening out) black politicians are less interested in all-black parties and more concerned with forming the kind of coalitions that can produce tangible political gains—for themselves no less than for their constituencies.

Finally, the deceleration, if not the demise, of the national civil rights movement—and the loss of many anti-poverty programs at the federal level—has forced local blacks to concentrate on county and state resources, for both economic aid and employment. The heady dreams of economic cooperatives and socialism-in-one-county ended long ago. The few remaining projects—the sawmill and the grocery store—are beneficial, but hardly the foundation of a new economic and social order.

Because the revolution that SNCC predicted (or projected) did not occur according to its 1966 timetable, some northern—and southern—radicals have tended to overlook the slow and painful progress that Lowndes blacks have made. None of the people I spoke with in Lowndes offered any neat prescription for sweeping change, as they had in earlier days. Incremental improvements based on interim tactics of accommodation and challenge to powerful white institutions seem to form the dominant black strategy.

Stokely Carmichael, who left

*** Sheriff John Hulett was easily reelected in November 1974, along with the black slate of county officials and two members of the board of education.**

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Lowndes long ago for national and international activism, returned to the Black Belt last summer to see what had changed in the landscapes of his youth. A black television reporter interviewed him, in a yellow dashiki, on the steps of the state house—the first capitol of the Confederacy—in Montgomery.

"If I came through here today and said 'Burn, baby, burn'—it wouldn't happen," Carmichael said. "The objective conditions just aren't there. Six years ago the oppression was too blatant. Now the contradictions are blurred. The white power structure has some black people on television and some black elected officials. Undeniably, black people have made some progress. Your being on television is because black people spilled blood on these streets. And George Wallace," he said, looking back at the state house, "has had to come and *beg* black people to vote for him."

The reporter, rather ingenuously, asked him what black power was all about.

"Black power," Carmichael answered, "is black people coming together and making a power base to do what they have to do to assure their liberation, to be in control of their lives."

"By any means necessary?" the reporter asked.

"By any means necessary," Carmichael answered with a small smile.

SOLAR ENERGY

(From page 25)

on the roof. The water absorbs and stores heat during the sunniest parts of the day, which keeps the house comfortably cool in hot weather, and it radiates the heat back into the house at night. The passive system is not as versatile as the collector system, but it is simpler, and in some climates can do the job just as well.

At present, a solar collector heating system costs from $3000 to $6000. But the price should be reduced considerably once the system is mass produced. Pittsburgh Plate Glass is the only company manufacturing collectors on a large scale, but most people working in solar energy say their price for the collectors ($6 or more per square foot) is far too expensive.

• **Air Conditioning**: There hasn't been as much experimenting with solar-powered air conditioning as there has been with space and especially water heating. But the technology is readily available. How can heat from the sun cool a room? The principle is the same as that used in gas refrigerators and air conditioners. The gas flame (or in the case of solar power, a coil from the collector) heats up ammonia within the system. In the process of cooling, the ammonia absorbs heat from the surrounding area.

• **Electrical Generation**: Most of the work being done in this field is with photovoltaic cells, which are still too expensive. But Sandy Parsons, an inventor in Richmond, California, has invented a device which converts the heat from a standard solar collector into electrical energy. He is now in the process of patenting it, and says that with a few refinements it will be able to supply electricity economically to a household with the use of rooftop collectors.

The main problem with solar collectors is their initial cost. But since the sunlight is inexhaustible and free, solar heating is already cheaper in the long run than electrical heating—even where the solar system requires a conventional back-up system for long periods of bad weather. Natural gas is temporarily the cheapest fuel for heating. But natural gas supplies are running low, and unless the nation quickly begins to convert to solar energy, we will have no other choice but to rely increasingly on electricity. As anyone who pays a heating bill in an all-electric home knows, this is not the answer. For every unit of usable electrical energy received in a home, three times that amount is wasted in the generating plant and over the transmission lines. Even more than the automobile, electric home heating, so widely advertised in the Sixties, is leading us towards a national energy famine. If, on the other hand, we switch to the solar/conservation strategy, we should be able to stretch natural gas supplies to meet the small auxiliary requirements for heating and cooling in the foreseeable future. We would see a drastic *reduction* in heating and cooling energy requirements within a decade, while actually making homes and office buildings *more* comfortable.

[PROFIT AND LOSS]

Dr. H. Guyford Stever, chairman of the National Science Foundation, recently told an audience that solar energy systems "would come along before society is ready to solve the economic issues surrounding it." And already that prophecy has come true. As long as we pay for the nation's energy program through utility bills and at the gasoline pump, rather than in the form of taxation, energy policy will remain in the hands of the oil and utility companies which dispose of that money. And as long as that is the case, these companies will play out the fossil fuel/nuclear option for all it is worth, despite the consequences, before they seriously consider investing in solar energy.

Even the emerging solar energy industry, about which there has been much talk lately, is controlled by those same reluctant interests. Arthur D. Little Incorporated, a consulting firm that has been trying to organize a solar energy industry, is also a consultant to Northeastern Utilities, and advised them to go heavily into nuclear energy. A good deal of federal money for solar energy development has gone to Westinghouse and General Electric, the two major nuclear reactor builders, both of whom are waiting for their multi-million dollar investments in nuclear power plants to show profit. Not surprisingly, GE's researchers found that "additional research is needed before solar heating/cooling systems become commercially viable" (which would surely surprise the tens of thousands of people around the world who rely on solar heating devices), and that "nuclear power and coal offer the most feasible means to meet energy needs for the foreseeable future."

The oil industry is also interested in making sure that the foreseeable future does not include rapid solar energy development. As Senator James Abourezk warned in a speech last year, "While the AEC is trying to deceive the public into thinking that solar energy is 'way down the road' and 'decades away,' Exxon, Gulf, and Shell have bought up solar power companies [and are] doing whatever is necessary to make that prophecy come true."

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Spokesmen for the solar industry have complained that they just need some start-up money in order to put solar collectors into mass production. The industry may well succeed in getting the money from the federal government, but they apparently will not get it from the record profits of their oil industry parent companies.

There are a number of pioneering individuals, genuinely interested in implementing the solar/conservation strategy for themselves., such as Mike Corbet, who built the Ward house, and Professor Richard Davis at the College of the Atlantic in Bar Harbor, Maine. Corbet went to the federal government for financial aid and Davis, who is building his own solar and wind-powered house, went to Washington with an idea to construct a community of solar homes accessible for all to observe. Both were turned down (though Corbet did receive an FHA mortgage for the Ward house). Both concluded that "there's no money for the little guy" in solar energy work. (Corbet also reports that the bank which had previously financed his other, more conventional building projects, refused to give him a loan on the solar house because of the "risk." The people who bought the solar house built by Jonathan Hammond in Winters, California, report having similar financing problems.)

In short, nearly all of the funding available for energy research has been tied up, one way or another, by those who have the most to gain by the fossil fuel/nuclear strategy. A number of bills in Congress and in state legislatures providing for miscellaneous loans and tax incentives for solar energy are steps in the right direction, but they are not nearly enough. Solar collectors, as well as better insulation, require sizeable initial investments, building by building. Although they eventually more than pay for themselves in terms of reduced energy consumption, not many people can afford that initial cost. As a result, for the foreseeable future, the solar collector industry seems likely to stay small, the technology overpriced—a fuel-saving convenience for the rich, who least need it. (Solar collectors are already in use to heat home swimming pools, and a development of expensive private homes in Ohio is being built with solar heating equipment). Unless national energy policy is changed to make that initial investment possible for more people, solar heating and cooling, no matter how attractive, will continue to play a marginal role in solving the "energy crunch."

And as the Energy Research and Development Agency budget intimates, we cannot expect much help from the federal energy bureaucracy. The replacement of the old scandal-wracked Atomic Energy Commission, with its heavy pro-nuclear bias, by the new, supposedly more balanced ERDA, has turned out to be little more than a face-lift. Of the 92,000 employees of ERDA, 91,000 come from the old AEC. At their first hearings on solar energy development, ERDA representatives told an outraged House Science and Technology Committee that plans to implement a five-year, $60 million Congressional mandate to demonstrate the feasibility of solar heating and cooling called for only $2 million in spending the first year. And rather than install several thousand solar heating units, as the Congressional sponsors of the project had contemplated, ERDA now says that it will install only about one thousand units over the entire five-year project. The AEC by any other name still has uranium fever.

And while Congress may grumble about the pace of solar development, few members have any stomach for questioning national energy priorities as a whole. For example, Congressman Mike McCormick, a comparatively strong supporter of solar research, recently expressed fear that "excessive optimism" about solar energy could hamper the nation's "nuclear energy program" (as indeed it should). An aide to McCormick suggested that while Congress may add five or ten million dollars to ERDA's solar budget, there was no chance that it would come near the accelerated solar research budget proposed by the National Science Foundation. Even an effort by Congressman Charles A. Vanick of Ohio to insert a solar energy utilization clause in an energy conservation bill passed last year was defeated. The occasional efforts in Congress to promote solar energy *could* point to the beginning of a coherent national energy policy, or at least to a serious debate on what that policy should be. But as things stand, the few pieces of solar energy legislation will probably remain isolated, token efforts. "The oil lobby hasn't opposed solar energy legislation so far because they don't see it as a threat," said a Vanick aide.

[PLANNING FOR THE INEVITABLE]

ERDA, GE, and the rest of the present energy policymaking machine seem intent on forestalling the solar/conservation solution. But the reality of houses like

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Chuck and Jan Ward's will not disappear. Nor will the disturbing questions disappear about the viability of the fossil fuel/nuclear course that has been presented to us as a *fait accompli.* Those questions have been asked in the form of increasing public concern about the wisdom of the nuclear reactor program, a concern that was expressed by the recent nuclear power moratorium proclaimed by the new governor of New York. They are raised in the persistent concern about the "windfall profits" of the oil industry. And they were raised with scholarly eloquence by Professor William E. Heronemus of the School of Engineering at the University of Massachusetts in a paper for the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions:

> *The willingness, indeed the demonstrated compulsion of modern man to live off fossil fuel energy capital while refusing to concern himself about the near-term depletion of that capital is a puzzling phenomenon. And the current refusal to acknowledge and convert to his use the great abundance of incoming energy bestowed upon him each day, simply by virtue of his being a captive part of the solar system, is equally puzzling. The espousal of "economics" which show that it is more beneficial to deplete finite resources than it is to invest in systems for the conversion of renewable solar energy needs some discussion. Is the current concept of economics too closely tied to a time constant that is too small? Are we wise in permitting day-to-day marketplace economics to rule solar energy processes as uneconomic?*

In fact, what should amaze us is that the fossil fuel/nuclear strategy, with its manifold economic, social, and environmental absurdities, could be considered economic at all. For instance, the American Institute of Architects points out that in the next 15 years $415 billion will be required to produce *wasted* energy alone. It goes to show that having a trillion dollars to play with can make anything look plausible. Certainly, if even a fraction of the trillion dollars, and the materials and labor power it represents, were transferred from the fossil fuel/nuclear development program to a serious solar/conservation effort, there is no question as to which program would prove more sound.

The first step in such a program would be, of course, to take the investment capital, and with it the decision-making power, away from the corporations, and open the issue of national energy policy to genuine public debate. If that were done, the alternatives to the environmentally and socially bleak prospects offered us by the fossil fuel/nuclear strategy would become startlingly clear and attractive.

Research and development of new solar technologies would move from last to first place on the national priority list. We would see dramatic results fairly quickly. In a staff report suppressed by AEC Chairman Dixy Lee Ray, it was reported that with sufficient research, the photovoltaic cell which turns sunlight into electricity would become practical by 1985. There are a number of plans, some for decentralized and some for large-scale projects, for converting sunlight as well as wind-power into electricity.

In the meantime, there would be plenty of other work to do. Industrial processes and the transportation system would have to be made more efficient. In the home and in other buildings, the full potential of combining better design with solar collector technology, with an assist from windpower, could be realized increasingly over the next several years.

The kind of comprehensive planning this would require, and what it would yield, is discussed in detail in an "Energy Conservation and Solar Utilization Ordinance" recently proposed by a group of environmentalists to the city council of Davis, California. For example, to allow for solar collectors, three-dimensional zoning would be required in order to ensure that no building would block another's sunlight. The proposal argues that a series of ordinances installing bicycle paths, narrowing the width of streets and encouraging the planting of trees (all of which would help keep neighborhoods cooler in summer), and regulating the glazing and direction of windows, size of roof overhangs, color of rooftops (white roofs stay cooler), and insulation, would cut heating and cooling requirements for a typical new house in Davis by 50 percent. And if solar heating and cooling equipment were installed, the new house would use only 7 percent of the heating and cooling energy required by the average Davis house today.

The Davis group emphasizes that different plans would be necessary for different micro-climates. Each town would have to come up with an energy conservation ordinance best suited to its own needs. And what emerges, as the Davis group concludes, "is not the harsh and austere program some would imagine necessary to achieve substantial energy savings, but rather a more efficient way of planning so that people going about their daily lives simply need less energy."

And, as an important part of the implementation of the solar/conservation strategy, a combination of mandatory requirements (as in Australia) and public subsidy could make the installation of solar collectors and insulation in most buildings feasible in less than a decade. As the Davis group points out, the cost of insulating 30,000 homes is already cheaper than the cost of building new power plants to generate the heat wasted by those homes. Eliminating most of the huge energy requirements for heating and cooling—an

GOING TO THE SOURCE

A wide range of books and articles are available on solar power, energy conservation, and other forms of alternative energy. Books of particular interest are:

Direct Use of the Sun's Energy, by Farrington Daniels, Ballantine, $1.95

Energy for Survival: Alternative to Extinction, by Wilson Clark, Doubleday, $12.50

Energy Primer: Solar, Water, Wind and Biofuels, edited by R. Merrill, Portola Institute

Project Independence: Solar Energy, U.S. Government Printing House, $6.20 (contact Superintendent of Documents)

Solar Energy Handbook, by Henry Landa, FICOA, $9.00

The Coming Age of Solar Energy, by D. S. Halacy, Avon, $1.95

Many more titles can be found by looking under energy (solar, wind, etc.) in *Books in Print* and the *Readers Guide to Periodical Literature*, available in any library.

Friends of the Earth, based in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco, California, have a wide range of information on solar energy, energy conservation, etc.

Senators Mike Gravel (Alaska) and James Abourezk (South Dakota) are strong proponents of solar energy. Their staff people put out newsletters, and are very helpful in providing information.

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amount greater than the total required energy for all American automobiles—is not a bad goal to shoot for by 1985 (especially in combination with other energy-saving projects like a revamping of the transportation system). It would not mean suddenly unplugging all the conventional power plants. But it *would* mean an end to the manic building of ever-bigger, more dangerous, and environmentally more destructive power plants to supply increasing heating and cooling needs. It would put an end to the awful vision of 24,000 nuclear power plants, all producing lethal radioactive wastes, that the Club of Rome says the world will need to supply its energy needs in the year 2000.

We need not allow Exxon, GE, and friends to make for us what is possibly the single most important decision of this era. The alternatives are there, as people like the Wards are quietly demonstrating. It is *our* dollars that pay for the energy industry's nuclear/fossil fuel program. We can, if we want to, use those same dollars to make our own choice.

Research assistance was provided by Mario Santilli.

MIDEAST

(From page 33)

But the system is, quite obviously, a highly unstable one. Developments within the Arab world may make it impossible for Egypt and Saudi Arabia to accede indefinitely, or even for very long. Israel too may be unwilling to accept the inevitable consequences of a militarized economy. with limited resources devoted to the purchase and production of arms. Social conflict may erupt within Israel, impelling more aggressive moves to settle the matter on more favorable terms by a decisive military victory. One may counter that such hopes are illusory, but history records many similar ventures. Furthermore, unless the Palestinian movement is destroyed, it will continue to threaten the stability of the system and will pose problems for the Arab states by inspiring radical nationalist tendencies. Hence it is in the interest of these states to settle the problem of the Palestinians, or at least to reduce it to more manageable terms.

[TWO-STATE SCENARIO]

One might imagine a very different system, more stable and no less favorable to the interests of American imperialism and the Arab states: namely, implementation of the UN Resolution of November 1967, as generally interpreted throughout the world. This entails a return to something like the 1967 borders in the context of a regional peace agreement, with some form of demilitarization and international guarantee, for whatever the latter is worth—very little, in fact, as the historical record amply demonstrates. Under present conditions such an arrangement would have to go beyond the UN Resolution in that a Palestinian State would have to be set up, organized by the PLO. One may imagine various adjustments, but the general pattern is clear.

From the point of view of the Arab states, this would be a satisfactory outcome, temporarily at least. The real significance of the Rabat conference may be that the Arab states came to the decision, not unreasonable from their standpoint, to contain Palestinian nationalism in a small region that will remain under the control of an Israeli-Jordanian alliance, a dependent Palestinian mini-state. Contained in this region and faced with the problem of constructing its own state authority, the PLO may be expected to strike a new course. More conservative elements will become dominant, adapting themselves to the new political arrangements and thus terminating the potential threat raised by these radical nationalist currents within the Arab world.

Such a solution can only be imposed by imperial force, much as one may deplore the fact, through strong American pressure on Israel. As already noted, such pressure might lead to war, undertaken by a desperate Israeli leadership that sees itself backed into a corner, facing intolerable pressures.

The form that American pressure might take will depend on developments within the United States. Here, too, the matter is complex. The mainstream of American political ideology is rather narrow, but there are slightly varying tendencies. A political victory for American liberalism may be expected to strengthen militaristic and interventionist tendencies, as in the past. Modern liberalism is the ideology of centralized state power, exercised allegedly for benevolent ends, within the framework of capitalist institutions. Domestically, this means a measure of state- nduced social reform and state intervention in the economy, constrained by the condition that it benefit rather than injure the interests of monopoly capital. Military expendi-

Palestinians

Stephen Shames

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tures, an immense highway program (with the concomitant destruction of public transport), and a space race have been the natural devices in the past. For good and continuing reasons, high technology military production will always be the most appealing device, given the constraint on state intervention in the capitalist economy. World affairs will tend to be interpreted so as to be conducive to this domestic program.

Internationally, this style of liberalism leads to global management, by force if necessary, though always with the best of intentions, as intellectual ideologists will patiently explain. One can anticipate, then, that a policy of military intervention and support for Israeli power will have a certain appeal to American liberalism, and to the extent that its political power increases, pressures for Israeli withdrawal may diminish. Apart from this factor, American support for the Israeli occupation tends to vary in accordance with the assessment of relative Israeli power in the region. From 1967, and particularly 1970, when this power seemed substantial, U.S. support for the occupation was correspondingly great. Since October 1973, the support has somewhat diminished, by virtue of a revised assessment of the regional power balance. One may expect this pattern to persist.

If American influence is exercised in a decisive manner, Israel will be compelled to accept an arrangement of the sort just outlined. This will be a bitter blow, but the available alternatives will be no less grim. The resulting settlement will leave a dependent Palestinian state, dominated by Israel and, to a lesser extent, its far weaker Jordanian ally. From the point of view of security, this may well be the optimal settlement for Israel. A Palestinian state, subordinated to Israel and Jordan, will pose no military threat, and its leadership will move to control disruptive and quasi-independent elements, and in general, to behave in a way that neighboring states and the great powers will consider "responsible."

But security is not the only issue. Under such a settlement, Israel may return to conditions not unlike those of 1966, economically depressed and with a certain loss of élan that may carry serious consequences. Emigration of the educated and privileged may rise, as was true prior to the 1967 war. It is safe to assume that the emigration of Russian Jews, if permitted by the Soviet authorities, will turn towards the West. Already, in December 1974, 35 percent of the Russian Jews reaching Vienna chose to go to the West, as compared to 4 percent in 1973 and 17 percent in 1974.[3] And the countries of Western Europe have moved to block even the trickle of Russian Jewish emigrants from Israel. All of this stirs some grim memories of the 1930s and later, when the United States was pleased to see Jewish emigration to Palestine, though American borders were virtually closed, and in one notorious case a German ship carrying Jewish refugees with post-dated American visas was returned to Europe and the holocaust. Curtailment of the Russian immigration means that European segments of Israeli society may find it difficult to maintain their dominant position. The country may become "Levantinized," as the Zionist leadership feared. These are prospects that the Israeli leadership will not face with equanimity.

Israelis

Stephen Shames

[AT AN IMPASSE]

For the present, the local impasse between Israel and the Palestinians is complete. Wherever Palestinians can make their voices heard, they support the PLO. The latter has offered no substantive program that could possibly serve as a basis for discussion among any segment of Israeli society. The PLO speaks of a democratic secular state within the framework of "comprehensive Arab unity" ("*l'unité arabe totale*"),[4] offering to Israeli Jews no prospect other than that of a tolerated minority granted civil rights within an "Arab nation." While the PLO is willing to administer territories released from Israeli occupation, it remains opposed to any plan that involves recognition of Israel, conciliation with it, or renunciation of national rights of Palestinians (as part of the Arab nation) anywhere in the former Palestine.[5] Officially, "the aim of the Palestinian revolution is to liquidate [the Zionist] entity in all its aspects, political, military, social, trade unions and cultural, and to liberate Palestine completely," so that all its citizens may "coexist with equal rights and obligations within the framework of the aspirations of the Arab nation to unity and progress."[6] Jews, in contrast, are denied any national rights within this scheme. In what Fatah has described as "transitional collective accommodations immediately after liberation," Jews "would have the right to practice their religion and develop culturally and linguistically as a group, besides their individual political and cultural participation."[7] Evidently, this program entails that all segments of Israeli

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society would have to be united to resist the liquidation of all of their political, social and cultural institutions, and the abrogation of any national rights within an Arab state, part of the Arab nation.

Israel, in turn, refuses to have any dealings with the PLO. Under the occupation, political expression has been carefully controlled or suppressed, with many arrests without charge and deportation of potential spokesmen. To mention one recent and important case, the president of Bir Zeit College on the West Bank, Dr. Hanna Nasser, was recently deported without charges. He "is considered by West Bank residents as a nationalist of moderate views who had not been associated with the PLO or the PLO-backed Palestinian National Front,"[8] which has been destroyed by extensive arrests of West Bank intellectuals. After the 1967 war, Israel had various opportunities to move towards peaceful accommodation that were never exploited. Thus it might have permitted a degree of free political expression and organization in the occupied territories as a first step towards a peaceful settlement with Palestinian participation. Recently it has been learned that the military commander of the West Bank after 1967, General Haim Herzog, proposed that some Palestinian formation be encouraged on the West Bank "to work against the PLO," and that he was approached by West Bank notables with a request that such political organization be permitted on the West Bank. Even this was not allowed by the allegedly "enlightened" Israeli military occupation, and in fact, Herzog states, government censorship prevented the Israeli press from reporting his proposal.[9] More imaginative steps might have been taken at that time towards some form of federation between predominantly Jewish and predominantly Palestinian regions. Now such proposals are being put forth by Government Ministers, but under the post-October 1973 circumstances they are quite meaningless.

Government spokesmen have repeatedly and insistently proclaimed that the Golan Heights, an expanded Jerusalem, the Gaza Strip, Sharm el-Sheikh and the access to it, and even much of the Jordan Valley will remain within Israel under any political settlement. Prime Minister Rabin has occasionally spoken of a long-term need to transfer refugees from the Gaza Strip and the West Bank to Jordan.[10] Furthermore, the government is continuing its program of development in the occupied areas. To cite a recent case, plans have been announced for a new industrial development between Jerusalem and Jericho. Taken at face value, these statements and programs preclude any political settlement.

Plainly, under present conditions the PLO must be a party to any serious negotiations, and if such negotiations have a peaceful outcome, a Palestinian state will be established, organized by the PLO. There are some individuals *within* the political mainstream in Israel who object to the current policies of integration of the occupied territories, and who are willing to face these political realities. They are, however, few in number, and even their analyses and proposals are marred by obscurity on crucial points. Thus, M. K. Shulamit Aloni, who has spoken courageously for Palestinian national rights and the necessity for political accommodation, has repeatedly declared that what she calls "binationalism" is an unacceptable solution, as illustrated by the recent events in Cyprus. But what exactly does this mean? Cyprus was not a "binational" state, at least in the sense in which this term was used in the history of the Zionist movement, implying parallel national institutions for the several nationalities. Rather, Cyprus was essentially like pre-1967 Israel. It was a state containing two national groups, a Greek majority and a Turkish minority on roughly the scale of the Arab minority within the "green line" (the pre-June 1967 borders). If the only solution for such a multinational society is partition and population transfer, as M. K. Aloni seems to imply in her remarks, then it follows that if a Palestinian state comes into being, the Israeli Arab minority must be transferred to it. She does not draw this conclusion, but it would appear to be implicit in her analysis and the Cyprus analogy.

One can appreciate the dilemma, which is inherent in political Zionism. This movement was committed to democracy and also to a Jewish state, two notions that are obviously incompatible, just as there will be no democratic Arab state with non-Arab citizens. A Jewish state (analogously, an Arab state, a White state, etc.) can move towards democracy in one of two ways: by guaranteeing that all citizens are Jews, or by restricting the Jewish character of the state to mere symbolism. There is no substantial group within Israel that calls for dismantling the legal and institutional structures or the administrative practices that guarantee Jewish dominance. In fact, the issue is barely recognized or discussed. Traditionally, the issue was removed from consciousness by patently fallacious arguments. Thus the Jewish state, it was argued, would be Jewish only in the way that England was English and France French, an obvious impossibility as long as there are non-Jewish citizens in the Jewish state. The second alternative is "population transfer"—to be more honest, expulsion—which will indeed leave Israel Jewish as England is English, at least as long as only Jews are thenceforth admitted to citizenship. In fact, neither alternative is clearly spelled out, perhaps because the issue itself is so uncomfortable for people sincerely committed both to democracy and to Jewish dominance.

But the issue is none the less real. As I have noted, it has its analogue within PLO doctrine. The issue will continue to poison relations between Jews and Arabs even if two states, Jewish and Palestinian, exist side by side, each based on the fundamental principle of discrimination. Two Ulsters in Mandatory Palestine may be a possible stable settlement, but it is hardly a very happy one, though it is difficult to conceive of an alternative for the foreseeable future that is both realistic and preferable.

The fact of the matter is that even small steps towards accommodation would be facilitated by long-term programs that offer some possibility for reconciliation between the two national groups, Jews and Palestinians, within a social order founded on justice and democracy. The "realists" who dismiss "utopian solutions" fail to perceive this element of social reality, and thus are trapped in irreconcilable conflict. In the earlier history of Zionism, prior to World War II, socialist binationalism was advocated by Ben-

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Gurion and others. It would perhaps be quite useful today to resurrect these ideas, and to reconstruct them as a long-range program. At least, this is a natural undertaking for socialists within both warring societies. Such a program might provide a framework for accommodation and, ultimately, true cooperation among people who must eventually come to terms with one another if they are to survive in any decent manner, or to survive at all.

Footnotes

1. Michael Tanzer, *The Energy Crisis: World Struggle for Power and Wealth*, Monthly Review Press, 1974, p. 133.
2. Edwin L. Dale, *New York Times*, Dec. 18, 1974.
3. Eric Silver, *Guardian Weekly* (Manchester-London), Jan. 18, 1975.
4. Palestinian National Council: Political Program, June 1974.
5. Ibid.
6. Statement by the Unified Command of the Palestinian Resistance Movement, May 6, 1970.
7. Fatah statement, "Towards a Democratic State in Palestine," presented at the Second World Congress on Palestine, September 1970.
8. Jim Hoagland, *Washington Post*, Nov. 28, 1974.
9. Quotations from a public statement by General Herzog appear in *Emda*, No. 3, December 1974, Tel Aviv.
10. See, for example, quotations in the *Christian Science Monitor*, June 3, 1974 (Francis Ofner, Tel Aviv); *Yediot Ahronot*, July 23, 1974; *Ma'ariv*, Feb. 16, 1973.

The French language version of this article is being published by *Le Monde Diplomatique*.

Noam Chomsky's most recent book is Peace in the Middle East? *(Vintage)*

CALIFORNIA POLITICS

(From page 37)

• **Mario Obledo, Secretary of Health and Welfare** is 42, Texas-born and raised in the San Antonio *barrio*, with a law degree from an obscure Texas school. He is now on leave from his post as Professor at Harvard Law School. Obledo has also served as general counsel for the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund. He met Brown for the first time only after the 1974 election. Obledo is utterly without affectation or pride of office. He says that he, too, is a fiscal conservative, yet he drives himself to find ways to bring better health services to more people and to make the Employment Development Department more useful to greater numbers of people. He is well aware that he is now perhaps the most conspicuous Mexican-American in California. He knows that his example is important, and that for a time, at least, he will also serve as a kind of Ombudsman for the Mexican-American community. He works incredibly hard, like Brown himself and most of the others; one wonders how long he can keep it up. I felt relief upon leaving Obledo, relief that there are people like him, and that miraculously he found his way to his present position. Those who want to speak of "recycled Reaganism" should look at the kinds of people Reagan had in these positions.

• **Thomas Quinn, Special Assistant for Environmental Protection and Director, Air Resources Board,** is 30 and a long-time Brown aide. Quinn, along with Richard Maullin, was a principal political advisor and campaign manager, drawing even the admiration of Ronald Reagan. He is one of the few non-lawyers in the administration, a communications major at Northwestern and a journalist in Chicago and Los Angeles before joining Brown in 1971. Some think that Quinn has been "exiled" to the Resources job, but actually this appointment signals how important environmental protection is in the Brown Administration. The ebullient Quinn is already sailing with glee into Detroit, the highway lobby, the national government, and just about anyone else who might still be polluting the air. He has powers and will use them. Older lobbyists and bureaucrats would like to be patronizing but don't dare.

• **Richard Maullin, Chairman of the Energy Resources Conservation and Development Commission,** is 34, a UCLA Ph.D. in Political Science, and a long-time Rand consultant on urban affairs, and has been with Brown since his successful campaign for Secretary of State in 1970. Maullin shared political and campaigning responsibilities with Quinn. He shares Brown's cool and ironic intellectual stance, though he is probably more oriented toward action, less toward contemplation. His post is a potentially powerful one and he will have no scruples about wielding it against the great economic interests of California. Like most of the other appointees, Maullin does not like to go into detail about his own ideological position, but he is committed to redistribution of wealth and power and the means to achieve it. He will be a power, I think, in the Brown Administration. He, too, does not feel exiled.

• **James Lorenz, Director of the Employment Development Department,** is 36, with a B.A. and a law degree from Harvard. He was the founder and first Director of California Rural Legal Assistance, the prototype of the "storefront lawyers" firm, whose actions on behalf of farm workers and other rural poor in California drew the ire of Reagan and agribusiness. Lorenz is tense and energetic, athletic in his movements and seemingly coiled and ready to spring. He is, more than most of the other appointees, articulate about his ideology and the only one who, with me, at least, used a vocabulary containing 1960s' radical expressions. Yet Lorenz accepts Brown's fiscal conservatism as not only necessary for the current depression, but also for the long haul, owing to diminished resources and wealth and the growing need for this country to share wealth with the poor nations. He, too, is action-oriented. He is at work on the unemployment problem and vows that shortly there will be a Brown Administration Re-employment Plan that will be a model for the rest of the nation.

• **Robert Gnaizda, Deputy Director of Health and Welfare and Director of the Department of Health** is 38 and has degrees from Columbia and Yale Law School. Gnaizda was Director of litigation for CRLA and filed the suits that won the school lunch and milk cases in California. He is also co-founder, along with J. Anthony Kline, of Public Advocates, Inc., the public-interest law firm that has been such a fertile ground for Brown administrators. Gnaizda is a dynamo and, like so many of the others, is without pretense or affectation. He has no use for luxuries and perks of office or for wealth as a goal in life. He seems to want not much more than to be able to go on battling against privilege and inequality. He does not speak in ideological terms, however, and in fact is a registered Republican. It was Gnaizda who drew Brown's attention to Obledo and he now is happy to serve as Obledo's deputy. He does not think that he is going to turn the world around or end injustice. In this sense he is as conservative as Brown. He also accepts, even argues for, Brown's fiscal and penological conservatism. In time Gnaizda will become one of the best-

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known and most engaging figures of this administration.

• **Gray Davis, Executive Assistant to the Governor** is 31 and was educated at Stanford and Columbia Law School. He is a specialist in financial affairs and had major responsibilities in this area in the Brown campaign. Lean, elegant, and handsome, Davis seems to be the least ideological of the important Brown aides, and at the same time the one most drawn to Brown personally. (All the aides I spoke to talked of Brown not only in terms of obvious admiration, but also with unmistakable warmth and affection—though, being his selections, it could hardly be otherwise). Davis shares Brown's fiscal conservatism and often defends the Governor on this point. He, too, clearly believes that we are at a stage in history calling for discipline and self-denial, and thinks that perhaps the greatest contribution the Brown Administration can make is to teach this country and the rest of the world that very lesson. Davis is more apt than most of the others to speak of the main problems as moral and characterological rather than economic or distributive. In his briefcase, I noticed, was a well-thumbed copy of a book on Zen Catholicism. Davis obviously has a key position, yet few people believe that he will become the alter-ego to Brown that Reagan's executive secretary was to him. Brown will be his own.

• **Carlotta Mellon, Appointments Assistant** is 28 and has degrees from Immaculate Heart College and a Ph.D. in History from Claremont Graduate School. She is in charge of the still considerable job of finding people to staff the important positions. She has had a major role, along with Kline, in the shape the Brown Administration has taken so far. Mellon says that with regard to appointment of women and minorities, we haven't seen anything yet. Mellon met Brown during the last campaign. She is deeply committed to him, but can look at him as instrumental for her objectives in the fields of equality for minorities and women. She admires Brown and has confidence that the work she is doing is important. She could easily return, however, to what she considers her first love: academia. She looks forward to a near revolution in family relations in this society and in the world, but does not think it will come about as a result of governmental action as much as through changes in consciousness. She feels that although Brown is conventional in his own behavior, he shares these views and hopes.

• **J. Anthony Kline, Legal Advisor** is 36 and has degrees from Johns Hopkins and Yale Law School, where he was a classmate and close friend of Jerry Brown's. Kline clerked for a California Supreme Court Justice for a time and in 1969 became litigation director for an OEO project called the National Housing and Economic Development Law project at Boalt Hall. Out of this public advocacy law experience, Kline and Gnaizda teamed up to start the private firm, Public Advocates, Inc., one of the most conspicuously successful of all public advocacy firms. Through the fees from its successful litigations, Public Advocates, Inc. became financially independent and could take on any cases it wanted to. Kline, who like so many of the other aides seems to have absolutely no regard for private wealth, doesn't know what salary he paid himself, just as he doesn't know what his salary is now. But he knew that he had realized the dream of every idealistic young lawyer in the land. Yet he left it to join his good friend, Brown, when the call came. Kline was probably *the* key figure in the administration transition, and I think the Brown Administration reflects Kline's judgments of people as much as it does Brown's. Kline has all the tense energy of the others. Like them, also, he is that odd mixture of conservatism and a willingness to take radical action in the interests of justice. He does not use ideological language, yet like Gnaizda, Lorenz, Mellon, Quinn, Maullin, et al., is clearly a person of the political left.

[OPEN QUESTIONS]

Where this tension will take the Brown Administration is not easy to see. Questions are easier to find than answers. But there can be no doubt that the tension is there. Brown is serious about the need for scaled down expectations. His unwillingness to raise taxes this year does not flow only from his campaign promises but also from this: less than half the Californians over 18 years of age voted last fall and Brown has the haunting sense that somebody had better start representing those non-voters. He thinks that the non-voters, especially, are turned off by big, expensive, and wildly ineffective government. This perfectly matches the disenchantment with Great Society liberalism that Brown and his aides have experienced. Right now, there is no way that the Brown Administration can be persuaded to start indiscriminately laying heavy bread on all of the regular constituencies of the Democratic Party, on all of the various hurting groups who were worked over by Reaganism.

But it is silly to think that Brown and his people are Reaganite wolves dressed up like liberal lambs. They are not free market fetishists. They are ready to use the powers of government to achieve social objectives. They are still searching for feasible governmental mechanisms for accomplishing some of the same objectives sought by welfare liberals. In any case, they certainly think of themselves as differing greatly from the Reagan Administration. Paul Halvonik, Brown's Assistant for Legislative Affairs, put it with some asperity last month: "The Governor's [Brown's] concern with fiscal responsibility receives a lot of attention, and I get rather bugged when it is compared to Reaganism. That wasn't an economy-minded government at all. It is incredible the way money was spent and nobody knew what it was spent for. . . . Governor Reagan was not interested in economy, he was interested in screwing poor people."

Many people on the left almost automatically dismiss anyone who works in established politics, assuming always that the only alternatives are right-wing, free market, Big Business Republicanism or New Frontier-Great Society welfare-state liberalism. The Brown Administration, at least, is neither of these. Whether it can point to a new way that works and is acceptable in the United States is an open question, and a fascinating one.

Francis Carney is professor of political science at the University of California at Riverside. He has written for the New York Review of Books, *the* Nation, *and the* American Review.

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